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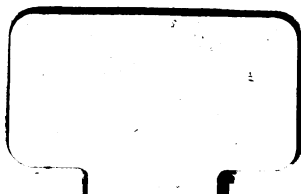
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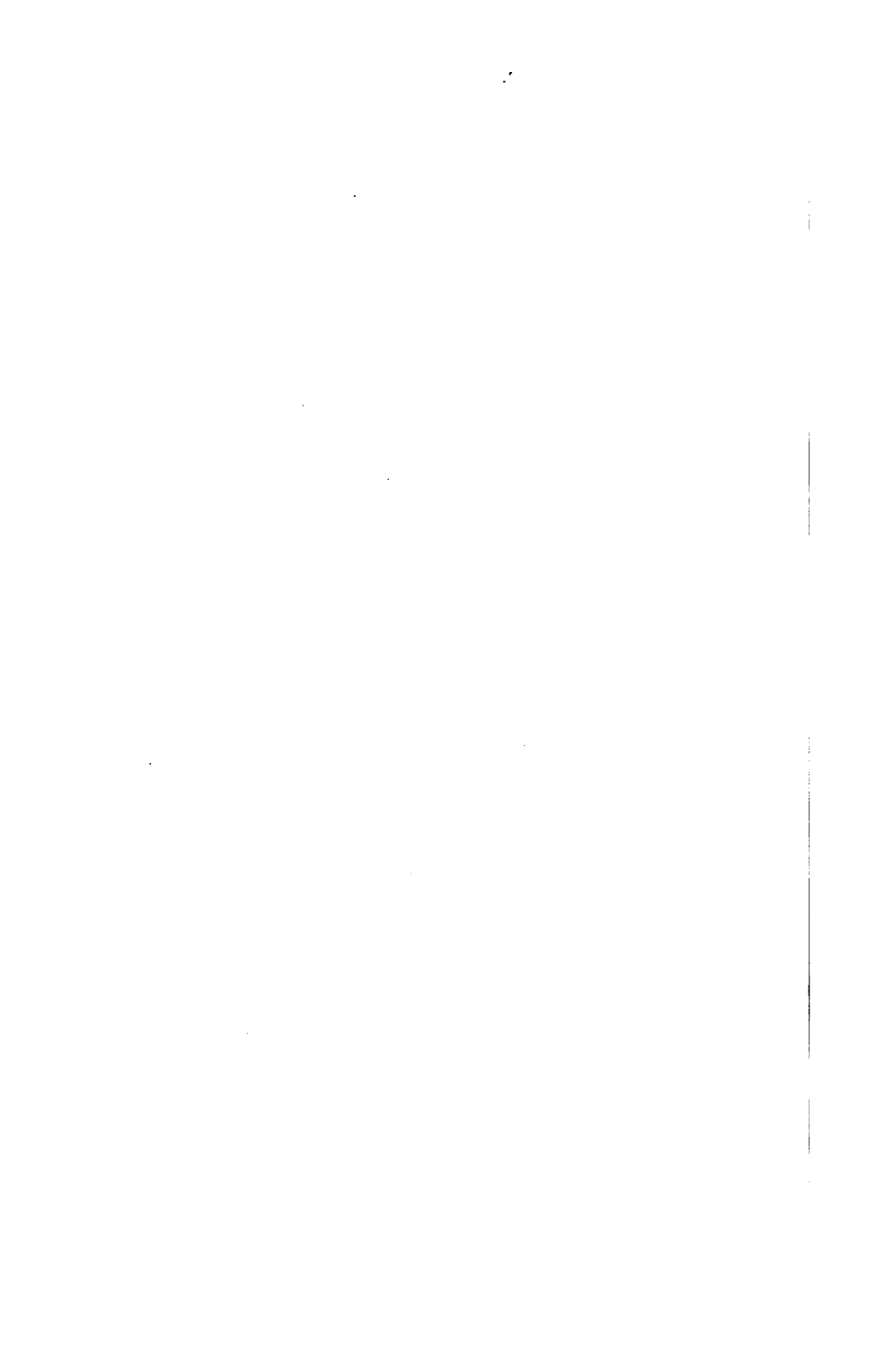
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1918





THE
HIERARCHICAL DESPOTISM.

LECTURES

ON THE

MIXTURE OF CIVIL AND ECCLESIASTICAL POWER

IN THE

GOVERNMENTS OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

**IN ILLUSTRATION OF THE NATURE AND PROGRESS
OF DESPOTISM IN THE ROMISH CHURCH.**

BY

REV. GEORGE B. CHEEVER.

NEW YORK:

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## INTRODUCTION.

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THE following argument has been suggested and called forth by an ingenious lecture of Bishop Hughes on the Mixture of Civil and Ecclesiastical Power in the Governments of the Middle Ages. Under this plausible and captivating title the reader finds a bold, unflinching apology for the Papacy, with the startling proposition that it is to the Despotism of the Papacy in the middle ages that we owe the preservation of Christianity, and the possession of all our civil freedom. I do not give the words, but the amount of his assertions. The lecture was exceedingly able in point of style and scholarship, and mingled with very plausible admissions as to the errors of the Papacy; which circumstances render it so much the more important to put the affirmations of the Lecturer in their true light, and especially to show that the Romish Church, instead of disavowing the union of Church and State, constitutes in herself the very essence of such union. Her HEART in Italy is such a union; the Pope's temporal sovereignty constitutes the left ventricle, his spiritual supremacy the right; and through these two systems pours the life-blood of the Romish Church to the world's extremities.

It is equally necessary to set in their proper light the astounding positions of Bishop Hughes as to the affirmed Republicanism

of Popery, and to show that in all ages the Romish Church has been the enemy both of civil and religious liberty. Whether Bishop Hughes expected to be believed in his singular assertions by any but the members of his own communion we know not; but ours is not the country, nor this the age, when such positions can be assumed for a moment without question. They are so startlingly and sweepingly opposed to all historic truth, that as hearers of Bishop Hughes' lecture, we really felt tempted to question whether he was not playing the satirist with the assumed ignorance and credulity of his audience; whether he was not trying the experiment how far he might enjoy a practical joke on the capacity of their faith in the assertions of the Priesthood. As the very first step in his lecture, he asserted that it was not the genius of the Romish Church to conceal anything of her doctrines or her history! The late freaks enacted with the school-books in this city afford an admirable commentary on this declaration.

The reader will see that the course we have taken in these lectures on such a subject as that announced by Bishop Hughes, is very different from that which we should have pursued had we taken up that subject on its civil rather than its ecclesiastical side. Bishop Hughes having taken his stand-point in the Papacy, we were compelled to take ours there also, and to show that the Papacy, as the example, by eminence, of the Mixture of Civil and Ecclesiastical Power in the Governments of the Middle Ages, was the most perfect and terrific DESPOTISM the world ever saw.

# HIERARCHICAL DESPOTISM.

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## FIRST LECTURE.

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### NATURE OF THE ARGUMENT.

IN all speculations on Ecclesiastical History there is no way to criticise correctly, but by placing ourselves first in the light of Christianity at its beginning. We cannot begin with the Fathers, but in the New Testament, in order to a proper judgment of any portion of the history of the Church that has passed since. It is like tracing a mountain torrent from its source in a living rock. You may stand at that source, and follow the stream a little while in its purity. Mark now the rills, as you pass along, that run into it. At first they are small, and much like the original fountain in their clearness. Sometimes there seems to be a silver cascade coming out of the heavens; such seemed at first the fond veneration of the martyrs, and afterwards the cherished remembrance of the Virgin Mary, both of these things to become a torrent of dark idolatry. As you come down from the air of the mountain into the

level world, there are muddy and brawling brooks that pour like rivers into your original stream. Sometimes it spreads out into a wide lake or marsh. Now if, when you put yourself back at any point after these intermixtures have become the body of the stream, you shut yourself up to that scenery, if you judge with the judgment of the inhabitants along its banks, it will seem to you a useful stream, a fertilizing body of water, perfectly suited to the times. But this is not your proper judgment as a Christian. This water where you stand, after all these worldly intermixtures, is not Christianity, but the body of its corruptions. Follow it still onward, and sometimes it flows like the river of Lethe through hell. It leads you where, as in a southern swamp, the trees grow in dripping festoons of impurity, where it is dark at noonday, where below you, the black backs of alligators look like the trunks of trees for you to step upon, and in the branches above you unclean bats and birds of darkness croak and flap their wings to terrify you. Such was the Papacy, the Romish Church, for hundreds of years, with almost all the institutions that grew out of it; the sanctified, consecrated slough and swamp of the world's impurities.

Sometimes this same river, now become a river of death, runs through deep, dark, vast, magnificent caverns; where, when you carry your torches, the roofs are pendent with blazing stalactites, and the walls seem to sparkle with living diamonds. Here, as in a Gothic Cathedral in the dark ages, if you stop and celebrate the mass with the inhabitants, you will think it the most gorgeous imposing ceremony in the world;

you may perhaps speculate on the excellence of that system, which, in a period of such ignorance, could throw so sacred a spell over the mind of the world's congregated multitudes. If you please to forget the calm clear sunlight of your primitive Christianity, you may perhaps say, How holy and how awful is the gloom of religious solemnity diffused over the spirit by this darkness, relieved so sacredly by the blaze of wax tapers and jewelled altars! How great a blessing was the Romish Church at this period to the world! But if you remember the simplicity and noonday clearness of the New Testament faith, you will feel that had it not been for that Romish Church, and its consecration and concentration of the corruptions of Christianity for ages into one system of combined superstition and despotism, the world during those dark ages would have been in the clear sunlight of the gospel, instead of worshipping by torch-light amidst the caverns and petrifications of Popery.

We have a vast subject before us, and I am sure I can trust the candor and intelligence of my audience for a patient investigation of it. I shall begin at the beginning, as certainly you would all wish me to do, and if in tracing the progress of a great despotic universal Hierarchy, such as the mixture of civil and ecclesiastical power must always constitute, from its first threadlike roots in the primitive Church of Christ to its mighty trunk and its overshadowing foliage, I should seem to cut athwart sectarian prejudices, I pray you to believe that it is with a charitable spirit and in the pursuit of truth. In cutting our way to a conclusion we are sometimes unconscious whose brush-wood



our blows strike ; let us but clear the path, and then settle with the owners of the land afterwards. Nothing that I say shall be set down in prejudice or bitterness. I am turning the leaves of history, and in directing your attention to the features of the Romish Church as there delineated, and reasoning from what it has been in all past ages, and under almost all forms of government, to what, unless the spirit of God descend upon it, it is likely to be still in this age and under our form of government, I have not a particle of other than affectionate and friendly feeling towards all the Romanists in this country, wishing them all well, wishing them the highest blessings they can enjoy in this world, even the uninterrupted enjoyment of all our civil and religious privileges, and the greatest gift God can bestow upon them in the next world, even life eternal through his dear Son. May God thus bless them all, and enlighten them and us alike with the precious light and liberty of the gospel. We go for truth and freedom, wherever we can find it, and against the spirit of oppression wherever we find that.

I was greatly interested, not many evenings ago, in hearing Bishop Hughes' ingenious lecture on the mixture of civil and ecclesiastical power in the governments of the middle ages. I admired his ingenuity, his talent, his scholarship, his gentlemanly bearing ; but as I came to conclusions directly the reverse of his, I determined to take some early opportunity to develop them, and to show the grounds of a deep conviction that to trace the mixture of civil and ecclesiastical power in the middle ages would be, in point of fact, to trace the progress of despotism in the Romish Church.

## POINTS OF SOPHISTRY TO BE NOTED.

But before entering on this investigation, I must notice two points of sophistry. It is a very common piece of sophistry to predicate of the Romish Church that which belongs to Christianity apart from the Romish Church, and even that period of Ecclesiastical History, which passed before the Romish Papal Church had an existence. The three first centuries of Christianity do not belong to the history of the Papacy, although even then the seeds were sowing of those dreadful corruptions and disorders, which afterwards grew in such a deadly harvest all over the world. We can trace back the roots of the Romish Papal Church into the three first centuries of Christianity; but it is because we find in those centuries the beginnings of the corruptions of Christianity.

It is another piece of sophistry similar to this, and a very dangerous one, to make the Church and Christianity one and the same; for when this is done, ten to one almost all the real Christianity in the world is out of the Church in the form of proscribed dissent and heresy, so that the Church has nothing but the mould, emptied of the spirit, and true Christianity is apart in desert places. It has often been so in this world's history.

A Church therefore may be the Catholic Church, and yet not the Christian Church; that is, she may be the reigning universal Church, the Church Catholic, embracing vast multitudes of members in opposition to the Church Elect, embracing only the comparatively

few, that have the spirit and the truth of Christ. And I say, in proportion as this tenet prevails, namely, that the Church and Christianity are one and the same, true religion declines, Christianity becomes first a nominal profession, then a cloak of covetousness and ambition, then an open sink of corruption and sin. Moreover, the god of this world knows well when Christianity hath departed, or is departing, from the Church. He sees it, when men do not. The priests may keep up their watch-fires to deceive the people and keep the world in awe, and make men think the camp is full of soldiers; but the adversary of mankind knows when the hosts are stealing out, and no creeds or formulas or watch-fires can deceive him. And when Christianity is departing from the Church, then, so far as in him lies, he assists the Church in rising to grandeur and power; for then and thus the Church itself becomes his greatest instrument of human ruin. The best things, both in earth and heaven, become the worst, when perverted and depraved; if the light that is in thee be darkness, how great is that darkness; an angel fallen becomes a demon, not a man; and so a Christianity corrupted becomes the most dreadful agent and element of hell.

#### THE PRIMITIVE CHRISTIANITY.

In tracing the progress of despotism in the Church it is necessary to go back to its first constitution in the New Testament. The chief officers of the Church of Christ in its infancy are included under these three

names, *ἐπισκοποι*, *πρεσβυτεροι*, *διακονοι*, bishops or overseers, presbyters or elders, and deacons or attendants. The terms *ἐπισκοποι* and *πρεσβυτεροι* are used in the New Testament promiscuously and synonymously, as is everywhere admitted. Turn to the 20th chapter of Acts, and you find that Paul sent to Ephesus from Miletus, and called the Elders of the Church, *τους πρεσβυτερους της εκκλησιας*. When convened, he spoke thus to them: Take heed therefore to yourself, and to all the flock, over which the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers, *ἐπισκοπους*, elsewhere in our translation, bishops, but signifying literally overseers. The same persons, then, are here denominated presbyters (or elders) and bishops. So in the Epistle to Titus, first chapter: "For this cause left I thee in Crete, that thou shouldst set in order the things that are wanting, and ordain elders in every city. If any be blameless, &c. For a bishop must be blameless." Here again it is clear that the two terms are synonymous. So in the first Epistle of Peter: "The elders which are among you I exhort, who am also an elder, feed the flock of God which is among you, taking the oversight thereof," *ἐπισκοπουντες*, acting the *ἐπισκοπος*, fulfilling the office of a bishop, a presbyter. The term *ἐπισκοπος*, overseer, bishop, doubtless came from the nature of the office, and the term *πρεσβυτερος* may at first have arisen from the choice of the older persons to the office, adopted, however, from the Jewish custom of so designating the members of the Sanhedrim, and of the city councils. Not a solitary passage is to be found in the New Testament intimating that these two words ever stood for different offices. In accordance with this,

Paul in writing to the Church at Philippi addresses himself thus: To all the saints at Philippi, with the bishops and deacons. About sixty years after this we are able to compare an epistle by Polycarp to the same congregation at Philippi, in which he mentions only two orders, the presbyters and the deacons. Again, we are told of the Apostles Paul and Barnabas, that when journeying together, they ordained elders in every Church. With all this corresponds the declaration of Jerome: *Apostolus perspicue docet eosdem esse Presbyteros quos Episcopos*; the Apostle clearly teaches that presbyters and bishops are the same. Jerome goes on to state that afterwards, as a matter of expediency, there was one chosen among the presbyters in each church who should preside over the others. He was at first denominated in the Apocalypse the angel, but afterwards the bishop.

In the first and second centuries a bishop had charge of a single church, and was its minister. The most ancient uninspired Christian writing, the Epistle of Clemens Romanus to the Corinthians, written about the beginning of the second century (supposed to be the same Clement whom Paul calls his fellow-laborer), declares that "the Apostles, having preached the gospel in countries and towns, constituted the first fruits of their ministry, whom they approved by the Spirit, bishops and deacons of those who should believe." This Epistle is styled the Epistle of the Church of God at Rome to the Church of God at Corinth. An Episcopal historian (Waddington) observes concerning this Epistle from the Church at Rome to the Church in Corinth, that it is clear that the Episcopal form of

government was not yet here established, *probably as being adverse to the republican spirit of Greece.*

This is a singular concession, and if the reason alleged were true, it would show how remarkably the republican spirit and the spirit of the New Testament coincide. But it would have been a singular reason to give for the non-establishment of the Episcopal form of government, if that government had been *jure divino*. For the Church of Corinth to say to Paul, We will not have the Episcopal government because of the staunch republican spirit of our country, would have been almost the counterpart of King James's maxim—no bishop, no king. King James reasoned that the Episcopal and Monarchical forms of government must stand or fall together; and this Corinthian Church are supposed to have reasoned that if they received the Episcopal form of government it would be adverse to their republican spirit. In truth, the reason why the Episcopal form was not there established was because it was nowhere established, and has been nowhere revealed from heaven. The Corinthian Church was not different in its form of government from any other Churches.

The Churches thus constituted with their ministers, were independent of each other, and elected their own bishops, presbyters, or pastors. It was the simplest form of Church government, and the most coincident with the commands and warnings of our blessed Lord: Ye know that the princes of the Gentiles exercise dominion over them, and they who are great exercise authority upon them; BUT IT SHALL NOT BE SO AMONG

YOU. All ye are brethren. Call no man Master on earth, for one is your Master even CHRIST.

"In this century and the next" (says a historian who has always from all parties received the praise of accuracy and impartiality, Dr. Mosheim), "a bishop had charge of a single Church, which might ordinarily be contained in a private house; nor was he its lord, but was in reality its minister or servant; he instructed the people, conducted all parts of public worship, and attended on the sick and necessitous in person; and what he was unable thus to perform, he committed to the care of the presbyters; but without power to ordain or determine anything, except with the concurrence of the presbyters and the brotherhood. The emoluments of this singularly laborious and perilous office were very small. For the Churches had no revenues, except the voluntary contributions of the people, or the oblations; which, moderate as they doubtless were, were divided among the bishop, the presbyters, the deacons, and the poor of the church." Such was the primitive arrangement, so simple, so utterly removed from all pride and domination, a kingdom indeed not of this world. The church was an assembly of believers under Christ their head, choosing their own ministers.

#### RISE OF DIOCESAN EPISCOPACY.

But this did not last. In process of time, the bishops in the cities, by their own labors and those of the presbyters, gathered other churches in the neighboring regions, and the pastors of those churches came to be considered in a measure inferior to the city bishops,

who took the superintendence of them, and so, gradually became overseers of provinces, which were denominated *dioceses*. From being pastors of single churches, they became superintendents of many pastors. There was also a distinction made between country bishops and city bishops; and by-and-by, when ambition grew, and the desire to have a great diocese, and to advance and increase the dignity of bishop, it was proposed to suppress the order of country bishops, and to ordain no more bishops in villages and little towns, lest the episcopal name and authority should be brought into contempt. Thus grew a disparity in the clergy, the first step of evil in the Christian Church; thus was the door opened to the entrance of pride, ambition, worldliness, the amassing of wealth, the accumulation of grandeur. Thus grew up diocesan episcopacy, which, by the end of the third century was preparing to become a great hierarchy of many gradations and titles each rising above the other, and each the object of ambition in proportion to its wealth and dignity. In the councils of the churches by representatives, which began to be held about the middle of the second century, there being a necessity for a president among the confederated bishops, the title and prerogatives of metropolitan grew up. The metropolis of the province would naturally be the place of meeting, and the bishop of the metropolis came naturally to be appointed as president, and at length to be regarded as such of course, and to be denominated the metropolitan. The claims first set up by bishops above presbyters were then made by metropolitans over bishops, and then by patriarchs over metropolitans, and



then by the Pope over the whole world. A corrupt state of the clergy followed upon the institution of all this hierarchical grandeur, and kept pace with it in arrogance, voluptuousness, and contentions for pre-eminence of rank and glory. Bishops adopted the state and grandeur of princes, particularly the bishops who had under them the more numerous and wealthy congregations; they sat on thrones surrounded by their ministers, and were clad in dazzling garments. The presbyters imitated the bishops, and the deacons imitated the presbyters, and then came a host of minor officers, sub-deacons, acolythes, readers, door-keepers, exorcists, and others. The people were at length excluded from all voice in ecclesiastical affairs, and the bishops appropriated the ecclesiastical property to themselves, or distributed it as they pleased.

From the time of Constantine, the wealth, honors, and privileges of the clergy in this vast hierarchy, first more accurately modelled and by law incorporated by him, received an immense increase. The bishops maintained disgraceful contests respecting the boundaries of their sees, and the extent of their jurisdiction; they trampled on the rights of the people and the inferior clergy, and vied with the civil governors of provinces in luxury, arrogance, and voluptuousness. Thus was reared an enormous fabric of Church grandeur and dominion; and soon the very idea of the church as Christ instituted it, came to be forgotten. The church signified merely the church dignitaries; people were not considered as a part of it, except as so much material to be used and governed. Power was considered inherent in particular offices, and the

custom of election, with its privileges, was entirely taken away from the people.

#### THE ECCLESIASTICAL JUDICATORY.

The episcopal authority became absolute. It is a deeply interesting matter to trace it from its beginnings. I might refer you to many authors, as the learned Peter Jurieu, Geiseler, Mosheim and others, but on this point I shall more directly take the assistance of Campbell, as beyond all question the most vigorous and accurate ecclesiastical anatomist. Among the early Christian societies there had grown up very naturally, from an unwillingness to go to law before unbelievers, the custom of nominating their pastors as judges or arbitrators in their questions of civil right and wrong. At length this trust of arbitration came to be considered by the pastors as their right. Especially was it so asserted when the churches grew in wealth, and the bishops in a worldly sense did so magnify their offices. Then, when the Roman emperors became Christian, they were ready to confirm by law whatever prerogatives were supposed to belong to Christ's ministers. So the bishop's power of judging was, under Constantine, ratified by the law; the magistrate was bound to execute his decision; and in any cause before a secular power, if an appeal were made by either party to the court of the bishop, it was to be carried thither, and from that tribunal there could be no appeal. This was in effect "throwing the whole judiciary power of the state into the hands of the

clergy. All the ordinary judicatories were now reduced to act solely in subordination to the spiritual courts, which could overrule the proceedings of the secular, whilst their own was not liable to be overruled by any." The effect of such power was injurious in the highest degree to the interests of religion. The dignitaries of the Church, having such vast authority, were flattered, caressed, bribed, courted by inferiors and dependents. The prelates, being armed with the terror of the magistrate, religion ceased to be the power of love, and men's consciences were trampled on. The prelates had their appendages judicatorial, their chancellors, commissaries, officials, advocates, procurators, registrars, apparitors, etc. ; and bailiffs, tipstaves, fines, imprisonments, distraining of goods, coercive power in every shape, as Campbell with vigorous satire has remarked, came to be the order of the day instead of that beautiful simplicity of Paul, Now, I Paul, myself, beseech you by the meekness and gentleness of Christ. The jurisdiction of the bishops was greatly enlarged by successive emperors ; the principal bishops were chosen by the prince for his councillors, a distinction which added immense authority to the Episcopal tribunal. At length they assumed the absolute and exclusive right to all criminal and civil jurisdiction over the clergy, and in various cases even over the laity, in ecclesiastical causes. In mixed causes they insisted that the bishop should be judge as well as the magistrate. They had a rule also that every cause should devolve on the ecclesiastical tribunal, if the magistrate either refused or neglected to do justice. And finally, they asserted that this power of judgment

in the bishop was a divine right, annexed by Christ to the essence of prelatical dominion, as one of its prerogatives. "Thus, in the course of ages, upon the spiritual power given by Christ to the Church of binding and loosing, that is, of excluding from, and receiving back into their communion, and upon the institution of Paul for terminating amicably their differences in matters of property by reference (to believers), without recurring to the tribunal of infidels, there had been erected, by several degrees, a spiritual-temporal tribunal, the most wonderful the world ever saw." Afterwards, in the more complete development of the Romish hierarchy, the Popes claimed to be of divine right the fountain and depositaries of all secular as well as spiritual jurisdiction; and one argument on which they founded this claim was this passage: They said, Lord, here are two swords. And he said, It is enough; denoting that there were two sorts of power deposited by the Saviour with the Church, the temporal and the spiritual, and that these two were sufficient for all her occasions, and that these two were entrusted to the Pope because they were entrusted to Peter, and that they were entrusted to Peter because he cut off the right ear of Malchus with one of them, and he must have had both! How dark must have been the state of the world when such an argument could dare to be palmed upon it!

But what can be said when I tell you that not to ignorance and superstition was this argument confined, but that St. Bernard himself, an angel of light, in comparison with the darkness of the Papacy, and yet, with all his learning, the most unflinching of the Papal

champions, condescended to employ the same argument! The spiritual and material swords, said he, belong to the Church; and if it did not belong to the Pope to use them, or to his nod to have them drawn, the Lord, when two swords were offered to him, would not have said *it is enough*, but, *it is too much*! Astonishing mixture of piety and pride, of religion and learning, with the demon of spiritual aggrandizement!

#### THE PAPAL SUPREMACY.

In the progress of the Hierarchy to its perfection, the principal cities of the Roman Empire, Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, and Antioch, came to be dignified with the title of Patriarch. The jealousy between these cities came at length to a contest of rivalry between the Patriarchs of Rome and Constantinople. But in the year 533 the Emperor Justinian declared the Bishop of Rome to be chief of the whole Ecclesiastical body of the Empire. In the letter of the Emperor to the Romish Bishop thus constituted Pope, he speaks of his desire to preserve the unity of the Apostolic Chair, and says, "For we cannot suffer that anything which relates to the state of the Church, however manifest and unquestionable, should be moved, without the knowledge of your Holiness, who are the Head of the Holy Churches, for in all things, as we have already declared, we are anxious to increase the honor and authority of your Apostolic Chair." The plea of supreme authority derived directly from Peter had meanwhile been gaining ground. It seems to

have been first advanced about the beginning of the fifth century by Innocent, and in the course of a century it grew to be the grand argument for the Pope's supremacy, so that in the time of Pope Gelasius it was solemnly asserted in a pontifical council, and the claim rapidly grew on by degrees, assisted by Imperial edicts, of a divine title, primacy, superintendency, supremacy, universal and divine power. In the reign of the Emperor Mauritius, the Patriarch of Constantinople assumed the title of Universal Bishop. This assumption incensed beyond all measure the reigning Patriarch of Rome, Gregory I. It is one of the most remarkable things in all history that this Pontiff declared and strenuously maintained that "whosoever assumed that heretical, blasphemous, and infernal title, was the follower of Lucifer, the forerunner and herald of Anti-Christ, in that it neither did nor could belong to any bishop whatever."

The Emperor Mauritius could not be persuaded by all Gregory's arguments to enter into his views. Just at this time Mauritius was murdered and dethroned by an execrably vicious centurion named Phocas, who reigned in his stead. To this horrible villain Pope Gregory wrote with great applause and flattery, in a tumult of joy because Mauritius, whom he regarded as his enemy, had been put to death. He applauded Phocas and his dreadful crime, in order that he might gain his favor against the Patriarch of Constantinople. Gregory soon died; but Boniface III., who succeeded him, obtained of this Emperor Phocas the revocation of the title of Universal Bishop, and the perpetual annexation of it to himself and to the Ro-

man See, the Pontiff being vested with the primacy of all the bishops of the empire. The Church of Rome, in accepting this new dignity and title, fulfilled the prophecy of Gregory, who had denounced it, and stamped upon herself, according to his opinion, the characteristics of vain-glorious, proud, profane, impious, execrable, blasphemous, anti-Christian, heretical, diabolical, for with all these epithets did Gregory brand the pontiff who should assume the title of Universal Bishop. Universal Bishop and Vicar of Jesus Christ! This, with its concomitants, was the climax and consummation of anti-Christian pride in the Romish Hierarchy, and from this event commences the rapid growth of the Papacy as the Man of Sin and Son of Perdition. This was at the very commencement of the seventh century, in the year 606. Here, then, we pause for the present.

#### CORRESPONDING CORRUPTIONS OF CHRISTIANITY.

Now I wish you to remember that in our sketch thus far I have confined myself to the progress of the Ecclesiastical *Hierarchy* raised gradually from the primitive Church, and at length, by the supremacy of the Roman Pontiff, consummated as the Romish Hierarchy, and destined to rule, as an ecclesiastical despotism, for many long dark centuries over the world. It is not to be supposed that such a fabric could be reared in the *government* of the Church, without corresponding enormity of corruption in the doctrines, ceremonies, and practices of the Church. Accordingly, in these first six centuries of Christianity, the greatest

abuses, so prevalent in after ages, had appeared, and the seeds of others were sown, the seeds of almost all possible evils indeed, in the utter corruption of the clergy. Leo the Great became the Roman Pontiff in the year 440. Under his authority and influence the Confessional was established, and in it the conscience of the people was delivered over to the power of the Priest, and an enormous addition was made to the power and influence of the clergy. In his time and in that of Gregory, that is, in the period between 400 and 600, the veneration for martyrs and relics had increased almost to an established worship, and images were introduced into the churches. The institutions of Monachism, that great centre and support of the wickedness of the Romish court, and power of the Romish Church for ages, had struck deep. The practices of Polytheism itself had been adopted by the Church in order to allure the Pagans and barbarians in greater crowds into her bosom. The feast days of Paganism became the saints' days of Christianity; the images of the martyrs supplied the absence of the statues of the gods; the gorgeous dresses and ceremonies of the priests, the frankincense and the altars, the pictures and shrines of this new mythology, it was rightly concluded by the Romish clergy, would prove to the barbarians and idolaters a rich compensation for the renunciation of that grosser and less gorgeous polytheism to which their senses had been accustomed. Moreover, the sacrament of baptism was supposed to contain a full and absolute expiation of sin, and the assurance of eternal salvation; hence there were many proselytes, who, though they renounced their idolatry, de-



ferred their baptism, to continue the indulgence of their sins, which, by the application of that rite at any time before death, they could so easily wash away. There can be little doubt that this was one great reason with Constantine himself for deferring his own baptism. "The salvation of the people was purchased at an easy rate," says Gibbon, and the sneer is just, "if it be true that in one year 12,000 men were baptized in Rome, besides women and children; and that a white garment, with twenty pieces of gold, had been promised by the emperor to every convert."

It was this religion that the celebrated Pope Gregory, in the sixth century, sent to Britain, ordering that for the accommodation and allurement of the Pagans, and to make Christianity sit easy upon them, the days on which they had been accustomed to sacrifice to the gods should be appointed as festivals of the Saints, and so the populace be allowed to bring and kill their victims, and perform their sacrifices as usual. The resolute pontiff was determined that thus Satan should be cheated, and the souls of the multitude saved! It was this religion of which a Pagan writer remarked (Eunapius, quoted in Gibbon), with a sarcasm and unbelief not at all to be wondered at, that "instead of deities, the heads salted and pickled, of infamous malefactors, are the gods which the earth produces in our days; the martyrs, the supreme arbitrators of our prayers and petitions to the deity, whose tombs are now consecrated as the objects of the veneration of the people."

I have spoken of the ambition of the clergy, as a necessary result growing out of the aggrandizement

and variety of their offices and titles. We will take two instances of this for illustration, both of them occurring in the See of Rome, but both before that See had received the title and supremacy of universal Bishop. The first, not long after the conversion of Constantine, and the alliance of religion with the State, was the horrible conflict between two of the clergy, Damasus and Ursinus, nominated and elected by opposite partisans to fill the Episcopal chair of Rome, about the year 366. The most dreadful violence, fightings, burning of buildings and bloodshed, took place ; a hundred and thirty-seven persons were massacred in the church of Liberius, and the prefect of the city was compelled to take refuge in the suburbs. A pagan and contemporary writer has left on record his feelings and thoughts in the observance of this warfare.

The second instance is in the year 498, a still more terrible and continued conflict between Symmachus, a deacon, and Laurentius, an arch presbyter, with their respective multitudes of partisans, for the succession to the same dignity of the Pontiff of the See of Rome. The city was kept in an uproar for months ; there were uncontrollable mobs, battles and bloodshed, in the streets and public places ; both the pontiffs were accused of the most dreadful crimes, and three separate councils assembled at Rome were unable to terminate the fierce contest. Now we beg you to look at the picture which such scenes give, the revelation which they lay open, of the nature of the prevalent Christianity of the times. Suppose for a moment that such a conflict should take place in the city of New York

between two of the clergy chosen to fill a vacant bishoprick; what conclusion would you be justified in drawing as to the degree of piety in the Church and community?

#### DIVISIONS OF THE HISTORICAL ARGUMENT.

During the period which we have now swept with our historical perspective, several great sources of corruption and wickedness, several great elements of tyranny and cruelty, several great engines of ambition and misery to the world, were developed and set in motion, to be perfected afterwards, and to sweep the earth as with an infernal whirlwind, for at least ten centuries. They constitute such links in the chain of despotism engirding the world, that they must be dwelt upon consecutively in our argument, and we shall bring all these trains of investigation to bear upon our argument as to the nature and consequence of the mingling of civil and ecclesiastical power, and as to the nature of the Romish despotism as the consummation of such a mixture.

First, the idea was fixed in men's minds of the earthly visible unity and aggrandizement of the Church as a kingdom of this world. Second, the maxim was established that to lie and deceive becomes a virtue, if religion or the Church can be profited by it. Third, the alliance followed between the civil and ecclesiastical hierarchies, the union of Church and State. Fourth, there followed upon this the employment of civil penalties for the compulsion of the

conscience in religious things. Fifth, there was commenced the opposition of the Church to the diffusion of knowledge and learning. Sixth, the ministry of the Church became a sacrificial priesthood, and the idea was established to the utter annihilation of the great principle of Justification by Faith, that pardon of sin could be purchased by money, penance, human merit, through the medium of the priest. Seventh, the foundations of the Canon law were laid, the body, power, and authority of which continued to increase as a main support of the Papacy, even up to the sixteenth century. It will be found of essential importance to trace every one of these abuses, in disclosing fully the nature of the mixture of civil and ecclesiastical power in the governments of the middle ages, and the means by which the system, formed of such a mixture, was supported. We bring up these great facts from the past gulf of history, not, be it remembered, for the facts' sake, or for the sake of dwelling upon them, or of elucidating the corruptions of any particular Church, but solely for the sake of great principles to be established out of such a survey. We can get at such principles only by such a survey, only by going thoroughly into past events, in order to understand the lessons, for the sake of which God permitted the events to be developed. In this survey, as we pass along, the false positions contained in Bishop Hughes's lecture will be made manifest.

IDEA OF THE VISIBLE UNITY AND AGGRANDIZEMENT OF  
THE CHURCH.

I. Our first point, then, is this, namely : the idea settled and fixed in the minds of men, of the earthly, visible unity and aggrandizement of the Church as a kingdom of this world. We must trace this idea and its consequences somewhat at large.

As early as the second century we find the germ of the idea, fully developed in the third century, of a visible Catholic Church, beyond the pale of which there could be no salvation. In the apostolic times it was not said, Except you join the Church you cannot enter heaven, but, Except ye repent and believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, you cannot enter heaven. But so soon as men began to attach importance to the idea of a visible Church, within which alone there was salvation, then an entrance into the Church came to be considered as the cause, instead of the consequence, of a personal union to Christ. "He cannot have God for his father, who has not the Church for his mother," said Cyprian ; an absolute falsehood, when grounded on the idea of a visible Church, as alone containing salvation. Upon this idea of the visible Catholic Church was next grafted the idea of a perfect uniformity in the creed and observances of that Church. As early as the second century the Bishop of Rome condemned the Asiatic Bishops, because they refused to conform to the western Churches in the celebration of Easter. By and by, when the Church was established by law, conformity came to be considered essential to

its unity, and non-conformity was branded as a crime. This was natural. If there be one visible Church, and no possibility of salvation out of it, the visibility of that Church must consist in its uniformity; every species of dissent from its rules or confessions is regarded as a schism, to be punished as a crime. Hence, with the idea of the visible unity of the Church, comes, of course, the restraint and punishment of heresy, the bondage of freedom, the fettering of individual opinion. The authority of the Church becomes supreme, in matters both of faith and practice; and these matters being settled by councils, which councils were councils of the Bishops, the way was gradually prepared for restricting the idea of the Church to the idea of the hierarchy, the assembly of its officers. "It was not until the habit of acting in bodies," says an Episcopal historian, before quoted, "made them sensible of their common interest and real power, that they ventured to assert such claims, and assumed a loftier manner in the government of their dioceses; so that, though these synods were doubtless indispensable to the well-being of Christianity, they seem to have been the means of corrupting the original humility of its ministers; and the method which was intended to promote only the eternal interests of the Church, promoted in some degree the worldly consideration of the order which governed it. This change began to show itself toward the end of the second century, and it is certain that at this period we find the first complaints of the incipient corruptions of the clergy." Those corruptions grew precisely with the growth of the idea and the power of the Church as a hierarchy.

It is impossible to say precisely what time the idea

of the Church was first restricted to the clergy. When it was, then ambition became the ruling passion of the Church. This restriction you may find in modern times, and in the minds of some great writers. Guizot's idea of the Church and his manner of using the word may be learned from one almost casual sentence. In speaking of the retirement of religious orders into monasteries, he says, these institutions became, during this barbarous period, *an asylum for the Church, as the Church was for the laity*. It would seem thus that his idea of the Church is confined to the priesthood; the people form no part of it. But what is the Church of Christ? Is it not the assembly of the souls of his flock? Where two or three are met in my name, there am I; there is Christ, the Great Shepherd and Bishop of his flock. There is the Church of Christ, where Christ and his people are, not where the clergy alone are. The truth is, the Church is essential to the being of the clergy, and not the clergy to the being of the Church. The clergy come out of the Church, and not the Church out of the clergy; and so they are a divine order; the Church being from God, by a new creation of his Spirit, they, as a part of the Church, are, according to God's will, through the Church and for the Church, a divine order. But if they boast themselves against the Church, be it remembered, it is the Church that bears them, and not they who bear the Church. They are gifts granted of God for the edification of the body of Christ, *for his body's sake*, which is the Church; but they are not the body of Christ, God forbid, but simple members of that body, appointed by the Holy Ghost as overseers and teachers.

A visible body must have a visible head ; and hence the progress of this idea of a visible unity to the climax of the Ecclesiastical hierarchy in a Universal Pontiff was natural and consistent. When this hierarchy was thus completed, it became the greatest enshrinement of the genius of universal ambition that the world ever saw. Ambition was the infecting spirit and sin of the Church so organized. Hence in almost all the councils of the Church you meet bodies of men intriguing, managing, striving, contending, for the aggrandizement of their own order, for the consolidation of Ecclesiastical Empire, not for the good of mankind, not for the spread of the gospel, not for the instruction of the multitude. The despotic unity of the Church, not the glory of Christ, was the object. Even the doctrines of the Church were put into precise dogmas, not to edify the Church, or to instruct mankind, or to render the knowledge of the gospel more accessible, but to render the dominion of the Church more absolute, its unity more despotic. To repress and punish heretics, and not to teach, win, and convert unbelievers, or to build up believers, was the work of Ecclesiastical councils for ages. Men may say, philosophers may say, that such councils, such bodies of men existing through the dark ages, and such a Hierarchy called the Christian Church, were necessary to keep alive Christianity in the world, and that they did keep it alive. We should rather say, they kept it dying than living. Instead of being as the candlestick, they were as the bushel. The light was put under the bed, and the bed, the Church, with the light under it, was made a bed of the embraces of luxury and power.



The true unity of the Church of Christ is oneness of spirit, not of form ; it is union to him, to Christ, and the unity which is the consequence of that, not union to a hierarchy or form of Church government, and the unity which is the consequence of that. The Church is put first in the estimation of hierarchists ; belong to the Church, they say, and you are united to Christ ; the voice of the gospel is very different ; belong to Christ, it says, and you are in him united to the true Church. Christ himself says, I am the Vine, not, the Church is the Vine ; abide in me, not, abide in the Church, and let my words abide in you, not, let the Church's word abide in you. By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, not, if ye abide under one form of government, but, if ye love one another. Unity is a very different thing from uniformity. Uniformity, generally speaking, is compulsion and deadness ; unity is life and love. There may be perfect uniformity where there is no unity, as, on the other hand, there may be perfect unity, where there is very little uniformity. The unity of uniformity is not what our blessed Lord ever commanded, but, the unity of the spirit, in the bond of peace. Any other unity than this, any unity without it, is a unity of evil, that leads inevitably to ambition, aggrandizement, despotic power, persecution, cruelty. It is a remorseless unity, with the conscience seared as with a hot iron, destructive of all liberty and love. It is a frowning, overawing, overshadowing, overwhelming unity, that, to sustain and carry out its purposes, confounds the eternal distinctions between right and wrong, sanctifies guilt and falsehood, does evil that good may come, and makes its members the fanatics of superstition and

arbitrary power. Anything becomes lawful for the sake of the Church ; and its members, when proscribed by this demon of Church pride and despotism, are willing in all things to aggrandize the Church, though it be at the utter sacrifice of all personal independence. Nay, the greater this aggrandizement, at whatever cost of this nature, the greater the pride of the individual, as a member, though trampled on, of the aggrandized, glorious, worshipped order.

Now I say, it is this false terrific unity of form and establishment, compressing and binding men together under it as slaves, instead of Christ's freemen, that is at the bottom of all the evil inflicted by the Church upon the world. This, I hesitate not to say, is the great corruption of Christianity, which for ages made the Church not an incarnation and enshrinement of goodness, but of evil ; not an instrument of deliverance and mercy, but of deeper bondage and pain. It is a corruption, the taint whereof exists still ; and still men are making baptism the door of regeneration, and the Church the door of heaven. It is a corruption, in which the simplest rites of Christ's institution for his people are made the means of bondage and error to the soul. Give to the priest only those two rites of baptism and the Lord's Supper, and let him hold them as the keys that unlock the brazen gates of this vast visibility of power and glory, as the only means of admission within the bosom of this tremendous unity, through which only the trembling proselyte can enter heaven, and you have at once corrupted religion, and perverted its very idea in the soul of the worshipper ; a perversion absolutely fatal in placing the symbol for the thing signified ; and also you have corrupted the

Church from the temple of piety and love, into an engine of oppressive, vast, sweeping, resistless ambition and despotism.

In such a state of things, in such a unity, Christianity and the Church become distinct and separate. Christianity, if it exists, exists apart from the Church, as entirely a foreign essence, nay, even as a heresy. In the greatest perfection of this unity in the Romish Church, when Christianity appeared, then the Church crushed it; when her sweet, mild, holy voice was heard, it sounded like a lunatic's; it was strange, wild, heretical, dangerous; it must be imprisoned. But religion had gone out of this hierarchy from a very early period, and the consequence was the repressing and preventing the world's mercy, and the continuance of the world in darkness for successive ages, in spite of the historical existence of the so-called Christian Church. The salt having lost its savor, consequently, although it was thrown upon the world in this vast and splendid unity, yet the world continued to be, what it always must be without piety, a dunghill; and a corrupted Christianity did but add to its festering, polluted, pestilential ingredients.

**CIVILISATION OF THE MIDDLE AGES. THE ROMISH HIERARCHY AN OBSTACLE.**

We may judge from this in some measure how scandalous to true piety it is to attribute to Christianity the poor and barbarous civilisation that reigned in the world during a large portion of the dark and middle ages. The civilisation which would have been pro-

duced by true Christianity, had been a very different and a far more glorious and beneficial advancement of the world. But the Romish Church repressed that advancement, so that it may be considered doubtful if the world would not have made just as great progress in mere civilisation, without any Christian Church at all. What Guizot calls the history of civilisation in modern Europe, is, in point of fact, in many respects the history of ambition in modern Europe. It would not be difficult to show this; it would not be difficult to show that ambition in its march, both personal and corporational, carries with it inevitably a train of civilisation, and that the civilisation of modern Europe before the Reformation was not owing so much to the impressible tendency in man towards civilisation, or to the beneficial working of benevolent principles, either in the Church or out of it, as to the working of selfishness. The most despotic monarch tends towards a certain degree of civilisation; for he will strive to make himself, his court, all his own circumstances, as glorious and grand as possible. Hence he will draw from all sources the elements of luxury, of comfort, of splendor, of display, and even of refinement, though it may be barbaric refinement; and in all this there is progress towards general civilisation. Perhaps he will build cities, like Cain the murderer, and name them after the name of his first born son. Perhaps he will build pyramids and rear temples out of the superstition and slavery of the people, which shall be regarded in after ages as the material types of a wonderful period of civilisation. So a despotic church, in seeking the establishment of its own despotic unity, and the aggrandizement of its vast hierarchy, though

the aim in every member of the order may be purely selfish, and neither general civilisation nor general happiness be ever thought of as an end, will yet, in this very selfishness, tend to the civilisation of mankind. You might take Napoleon as an illustration of this principle. There were many good things and grand principles that grew out of his whirlwind course, noble institutions, and enterprises, and sometimes nations set at liberty; but no man would dream of saying that Napoleon's object was the world's happiness, or the world's civilisation, but on the whole remorseless conquest, of which the good ends that he accomplished were rather heavenly accidents than human purposes, God's arrangements and not his own. In the prosecution of his great end, the road across the Simplon was a vast and noble work, a magnificent enterprise, shot through eternal Alps, driven where the world might have waited for centuries before benevolence or mere civilisation would have driven it, through rock galleries sheeted with ice and snow, down which avalanches might innocently thunder into unfathomable depths below; but still the genius of the enterprise was Remorseless Conquest.

And just so with the dominion of the Popes, the march of the Romish hierarchy; there were many good things grew out of it, through God's preventing mercy, to the world; but on the whole its genius was Remorseless Conquest. The good things were heaven's accidents; the evil was its character and its essence. Nor can there be anything more certain than that, during the dark and middle ages, on the whole, the happiness of the many, the elevation of society, the Christianisation of the common people, nay the rights

of the common people, were scarcely thought of; these things entered not into the views of men; and how should they, as long as what was called the Christian Church set the example, and taught the lesson to all mankind, of supreme selfishness; the idea of laboring for the amelioration or the good of mankind was merged and lost in the ideas either of personal or hierarchical aggrandizement. This was what the Church pursued with very few individual exceptions. You may bring forward great and good names in the darkest period; Bernard, Bruno, Anselm, Thomas A'Kempis; but they no more constituted the Roman Church, or any part of its spirit, or any part of its fruits, than Simeon and Anna in the Jewish Temple constituted the spirit or the fruits of the proud, corrupted, persecuting Jewish hierarchy, abandoned of God and given over to destruction. In point of fact, the light of such benevolent minds was like lamps in sepulchres, shining upon dead men's bones and all uncleanness, but powerless to give them existence, or to clear away the pollution, or to make the abodes of death and cruelty the habitations of life and mercy. Such minds were no more the results or the characteristics of the Romish hierarchy, than the magnificent cathedrals of the Gothic architecture were the results or the proofs of general piety and intelligence.

God, it is true, counteracts our selfishness. Our world would be an open, undisguised hell of wickedness, if he did not.

Heaven doth with us, as we with torches do,  
Not light them for themselves.

Heaven makes even a purely ambitious mind, and a

purely ambitious hierarchy, in spite of itself, minister in many ways to good ; but it is Heaven's idea, not ours. So in those ages the idea of Christianity was lost sight of in the idea of a vast Ecclesiastical Hierarchy. The Great Invisible Head of the Church was displaced first by the Church, and then for many ages by its self-constituted earthly Head, the Supreme Pontiff usurping the place of the Heavenly. The object before all men's minds was Power. With the Priests, it was power on earth and in heaven ; power on earth by means of power in heaven ; power over men's minds, bodies, possessions, by power of their consciences. Gain the conscience, and you gain the world ; power supreme on earth followed men's belief in a power to shut out from Heaven. Well did the Priests know this.

For, give you but a foot of conscience there,  
And you, like Archimedes, toss the globe.

With kings, emperors, and barons, it was power on earth, dominion, authority, the great lust of the fallen archangel, and of fallen man—Power, uncontrolled, unshackled Power. Alfred the Great, our Alfred, was a wonderful exception, but almost solitary. Charlemagne was somewhat an exception ; but the character of Charlemagne was far more that of personal ambition than Alfred's ; and in the measures of that great mind you see but a larger and more liberal sweep, than smaller minds could accomplish, of the ideas of conquest and consolidated empire. This must draw civilisation with it, but mark you, civilisation in spite of it, civilisation as an accident and not an object.

Just so with the crusades, enlarged upon in some quarters, almost as if it were a benefit conferred upon the world by the Papacy! Singular delusion! Civilisation did indeed grow out of the crusades, but again I say, in spite of the purpose of them; as an accident of Heaven's mercy, and not an object of man's intention; as a result thrown in by that glorious prerogative of God, by which he brings good out of evil, and is ever making the wrath of man to praise Him. So man and hierarchies go on, taking their great strides of ambition, and God in spite of them makes great general good to grow even out of their evil movements. So men mingle the cup of misery for the multitude in the accomplishment of their purposes, but God throws even into the very dregs of the cup the elements of some after result for his own glory and man's good.

The generalizing sophistry of scholars may wear the appearance, and gain the reputation, of originality, in finding out and illustrating the uses of abuses; but they should be careful to distinguish between the essence and aim of an abuse, and the good result which in God's providence may spring out of it. Some men allow themselves to talk of the blessings of the Papacy in such and such directions; how, for example, it restrained the power of kings, and preserved the records of Christianity. But mark you, if it had not risen to that enormous despotism in itself which *could* restrain the power of kings, the pure influences of the gospel would have restrained that power, and regulated it for the people's good, long before; the pure influences of the gospel would have prevented the need of the interposition of the vast machinery of an Ecclesiastical Despotism. And if, instead of keeping the records of



Christianity hidden during the period of the world's ignorance and darkness, and thus preserving them in monastic cobwebs, the papacy, and the monasteries, and the monks had spread them before the people as humble teachers, that ignorance and darkness would have been dissipated. *Preserving* the truths and records of Christianity in a dark age by *hiding* them ! It is just as if you should say, having only one solitary lamp lighted in the world, we will, instead of lighting other lamps by it, put it in a vault, and keep it till the night is passed, lest the darkness destroy it. And we will make the world believe that all the light in the world is in our power ; and that on penalty of eternal death men must go nowhere else for light but to our dungeons, and thus we will keep the world in subjection. So the Papacy preserved Christianity not *for* the world but *from* the world.

The Church was a vast Hierarchy, a form of power, an incarnation, not of Christianity, but of conquest. But your generalizers will say that civilisation was progressing, and the Church was a means of this progression. Again I will tell you how. Christianity was as a germ, a germ both of civilisation and piety, thrown into the world, deposited in the earth to grow there. As it was growing, the Hierarchical Church was thrown upon it as a mountain, a hierarchy, a great rock of worldly ambition. What becomes of the germ ? It cannot die ; it lives, it struggles, it shoots this way and that way, it heaves the mountain ; at length, through Heaven's mercy, it meets a cleft, and up it rises, forcing itself through the fissure, up to the topmost surface, to the open air ; and then and there, with unabated vigor and freshness of life, it spreads

and grows, till the whole surface is covered with rich mould and verdure, and the tree shoots up to heaven. Now a historian or a sophist, who comes and tells me that this mould, and this verdure, and this magnificent tree are the offspring of the Romish Church, may easily be confounded ; for with my spade I can show the hard rock, and the cleft through which Christianity, repressed for ages, did at length regain its liberty, and grew and spread, and covered the earth with verdure, in spite of the Romish Hierarchy.

FALSEHOOD OF THE POSITION THAT THE HIERARCHY WAS  
NECESSARY FOR THE PRESERVATION OF CHRISTIANITY.

But nevertheless, answers our original scholar, this Hierarchy, this Papacy, this mountain, as you call it, was very useful in shielding that germ of Christianity from the storms and fires that swept over the world during those ages. Just as a Bastile hides, and thus preserves its prisoner. This germ of Christianity was preserved from growth, not from destruction. It is one of the falsest of all positions to suppose, that had not the Christian Church existed as a hierarchy in the fourth and fifth centuries, religion would have been swept from the world. And yet this position is in some measure assumed, even by Guizot, and ecclesiastical historians have not disdained to follow it, and to assert, to the base betrayal of our faith, or rather, to the slander of its inherent divine energy, that under a less vigorous form of human government, religion would have perished from the world. This is, absolutely, making the corruptions of Christianity essential to its existence. "The overweening authority claimed and

exercised by the clergy," says Milman, "their existence as a separate and exclusive caste, at this particular period in the progress of civilisation, became of the highest utility. A religion without a powerful and separate sacerdotal order, even perhaps if that order had not in general been bound to celibacy, and so prevented from degenerating into an hereditary caste, would have been absorbed and lost in the conflict and confusion of the times. Religion, unless invested by general opinion in high authority, and that authority asserted by an active and incorporated class, would scarcely have struggled through this complete disorganisation of all the existing relations of society." Open the New Testament, and place yourself in the blaze of its light, and such speculations as these must be viewed with indignation and contempt. It is then the opinion of Mr. Milman that Christ is incompetent to keep his Church in existence, when barbarians invade the country, unless it be in the form of a hierarchy, supported by human authority and power. I can trace such sentiments to nothing else but the habit of dependence and worldliness, produced in an Established Church by always looking to the State for protection ; such a mind is incapable of producing a free and noble Ecclesiastical History, because it never sees the true, independent glory of the Gospel. It supposes that the Church must sink to destruction the moment the State withdraws from its allegiance, and that Christianity must go to ruin, if the State on which it has been accustomed to lean, be overturned.

Just so, an historian of a better spirit of faith in the divine hand, nevertheless is not ashamed to say that Christianity itself would have been swept away from

the surface of the west, had it not been rescued by an established body of ministers with splendid ceremonies. "Thence resulted the gradual conversion of the invaders," says Mr. Waddington, "by the agency of the visible Church. Without those means, had Christianity then existed as a mere individual belief, or even under a less vigorous form of human government, the religious society would have possessed neither the energy nor the discipline necessary for resistance to the deluge which endangered it." A worldly mind, that has no faith in the divine origin and power of Christianity, might have broached such speculations; and yet, such a mind might be asked how it was that Christianity without any hierarchy, or imposing ceremonial, or government established by law—Christianity in its primitive loveliness and simplicity, was kept from being swept from the earth when the whole power of the Roman Empire was at work to exterminate and crush it? But that a Christian mind should yield itself to such views is almost inconceivable.

It is moreover to be remembered, that the so-called conversion of the invading tribes in the fifth century, was merely a nominal transfer from a Pagan to a Christian polytheism. When, therefore, it is said that it was the Church hierarchy which preserved religion in the world, we hesitate not to affirm that it was rather the superstition of the barbarians themselves which sustained and added power to that hierarchy. They had been accustomed to pay the most awful reverence to their own priests; they simply transferred this reverence to the Romish hierarchy. They found in existence a spiritual authority so like in its pretensions to that to which they had been accustomed, that in

which, as in an iron mould, their childhood had been rocked ; and by which, as by an iron frame, the growth of intellect and soul had been shaped and imprisoned, that they bowed before it as before the vision of their native deities. An impulse came upon them like that under which the Indian idolators, when they stood before those frowning rocky temples of Egypt, prostrated themselves in adoration, exclaiming that they had found the gods of their own country. It was the awful genius of superstition that froze into subjection the souls of those northern conquerors, rather than any influences of civilisation and Christianity, that melted them. It was the spell of Druidism, which Christianity would have broken, and supplied its place with love, but with which, as an element of their own existence, they invested the new hierarchical order and ceremonial to which they were introduced—an order and ceremonial surrounded with so much more of imposing grandeur than they had ever known, and yet having so many features of the priestly dominion under which they had been educated, that it seemed as if they did but bow before their own native religion, in a new form of power and glory.

Now when such writers become so forgetful of the nature and support of true Christianity as to say that those Northern masses of Barbarians, had it not been for the Romish Church, would have obliterated all vestiges of religion and of learning from the world, we must be permitted to say that if the Church as it then was, could have been annihilated, and a new beginning have been made in the planting of Christianity as it issued from the charge of the Apostles, religion and learning would have soon transformed those Barbari-

ans into Christians and cultivated men. If when those Northern warriors overran the Roman Empire, there had been in existence only one simple Church of Christ in all the world; if, by the determination of the Author of our religion, that religion had been restricted to one single Church in Jerusalem for the space of five hundred years; and if the period for its propagation had been detained and appointed at the very juncture when the fountains of the great deep of Northern savageism were broken up, and Huns, Vandals, Goths, Visigoths, Ostrogoths, and all of Odin's brood from the ice womb of Empire had poured over the world; you may be sure that one single primitive Church, with the Papal Hierarchy out of the way, would have done more for the conversion of these men and the world, more for the good of the world in one single century, more to fill the world with the blessings and institutions of civilisation and Christianity, than the Romish Church accomplished for the space of nine hundred years. The ark of that single simple Church would have floated upon the face of that deluge, and when it subsided, its inmates would have covered the earth with the garden of the Lord. There were elements of character in those floods of Northern savages admirably fitted to unite with and be moulded by the noblest, simplest, most vigorous elements of the Christian religion. But the Romish Church, instead of converting those savages, corrupted them, corrupted their very virtues by the corruptions of Christianity! Instead of leading them into the fold of Christ, it received them into the lap of the consolidated empire of those corruptions, the vast personification of which towers before us, in the tremendous imagery of scripture, as at once the Mother of Harlots and the Man of Sin!

## PIOUS LYING FOR THE GOOD OF THE CHURCH.

II. We pass to our next division in the historical argument, which is the maxim that falsehood is justifiable in behalf of the Church. This became a most important element in the mixture of civil and ecclesiastical power in the middle ages, and a great reliance and support of the Romish Hierarchy ; one of its darkest, frowning, weather-beaten buttresses.

The maxim that to lie and deceive becomes a virtue if religion or the Church can be profited by it, is to be traced to a very early period. Its introduction does not lie at the door of the Romish Church, though its adoption, sanction, use and establishment, are hers. You find the seeds of it in the second century, scattered into the Christian garden from those flowers of heathen philosophy, of which the Fathers were so fond, that they would mingle them with the healthful blooming truths gathered from the field of the New Testament. The Pagan Philosophers were accustomed to affix to their works some name of authority to give weight to their own speculations ; and impostures of the same kind were resorted to and patronized in the Christian Church, on the diabolical principle that truth may be defended by falsehood, to such an extent that it is utterly impossible to trust the writings of many of the early Fathers. Forgeries, doubtful statements, interpolations and direct falsehoods, became so common, that you are afloat on a sea of uncertainty ; one thing, however, is certain, that pious frauds were sanctioned by the Church, and lying was adopted as a virtue. Eusebius, Bishop of Cesarea about the year

315, and who died about the year 340, distinctly treats, in one of his chapters, the following theological proposition, namely, *How it may be lawful and fitting to use falsehood as a medicine, for the advantage of those who require such a method.* You may well suppose how this business of pious frauds so sanctioned, would thrive as an element in the corruptions of Christianity. The multitude of sick persons who required falsehood as a medicine seemed greatly to increase, nor was it at all the homœopathic principle on which the medicine was administered.

Here was Paul's category in perfection; *speaking lies in hypocrisy, having the conscience seared as with a hot iron.* It was the hypocrisy of benefiting the Church; and the conscience, particular and universal, became so seared, that lying in this sort became an element of prosperous ecclesiastical existence. To this source you may trace the interminable catalogue of false miracles, astounding legends, absurd stories of saints and martyrs, coined and distributed with prolific ingenuity, which perhaps even in the pages of a pious man like Bede, you need not be at the trouble to suppose the writers of them believed, such pious lies being deemed perfectly justifiable; so that if a man dug up the skull of a hippopotamus he might sell it piecemeal as the true head of Peter which had been growing under ground for the use of the faithful ever since the apostle's martyrdom. No language can describe the infinite superstition and absurdity of the passion for rotten bodies, bones, relics and miracles, with which, under the fostering care of this diabolical maxim, the world became absolutely mad. In those days, says Jortin, the bones of a martyr had as little rest as a dog



in a wheel. If this lying spirit had been restricted to false miracles and the manufacture of saints' heads and martyrs' bones, it had been comparatively harmless; but it infected the whole existence of the Church. "A curious and critical examiner of the actions and writings of the most eminent and pious doctors of this age," says Jortin, and the same thing is asserted by Mosheim, "will, I fear, find almost all of them infected with this leprosy, not excepting Ambrose, or Hilary, or Augustine, or Gregory Nazianzen, or Jerome." But the point we are now particularly concerned with is the immediate connection of this maxim and spirit and consolidation of the Romish Despotism, and its existence as a known feature in the Romish Church. I might bring up a host of witnesses from the past, but omitting minor instances, I strike at once upon a great, well known-illustration of this matter. You have all heard of the Pope's Decretals, which, together with the forgery of the Donation of Constantine, of which I shall have occasion to speak, are justly described as the most celebrated monuments of human imposition and credulity.

In this place, I shall give you the description of them principally in the words of Mosheim. About the beginning of the ninth century, the Roman Pontiffs procured the forgery, by their trusty friends, of conventions, acts of councils, epistles, and other documents, by which they might make it appear that from the earliest ages of the Church the Roman Pontiffs possessed the same authority and power, which at that dark period they claimed. Among these fraudulent supports of the Romish despotism, the so-called Decretal Epistles of the pontiffs of the first centuries hold

perhaps the first rank. Of similar authority and value are the decrees of a Roman council, said to have been held under Sylvester in the year 324, but which was never known of by any one till the ninth century, than which nothing could be better suited to enrich and exalt above all human authority, the Roman Pontiff. In the darkness of the world there scarce remained any one either capable or disposed to move controversy respecting these pious frauds; and the history of subsequent centuries shows the use made of them for uniting all power, temporal and spiritual, in the Romish See; a thing not denied at the present day by respectable and honest men, even though friendly to the Romish Pontiff.

I might have gone more minutely into this division of our subject, and have taken other historians to describe this curious matter; I might have referred you to Fleury, the Romish ecclesiastical historian, or to David Blondell, or to Ayliffe's very admirable introduction to his great work on Canon law; but I have chosen to take nearly the words of Mosheim, whose honesty and accuracy no man dare impeach.

I shall of necessity touch upon this subject again, in speaking of the body and power of the canon law; a most instructive investigation; but sufficient has now been said to show how forgeries and falsehoods on a vast scale were used in the middle ages to bind civil and ecclesiastical authority in one, and to shore up and consolidate the despotism thus formed. In the immense labor of examining and comparing the several editions of the Justinian Code, the learned Ayliffe found *in the first book alone*, not less than one hundred and seven private interpolations of the clergy in favor

of themselves, to increase their own power and authority.

Now on the general topic of concealment, as well as lying, in the Romish Church, the declaration hazarded by Bishop Hughes is one of the most astounding we ever heard uttered in the teeth of truth. To say that it is the genius of the Romish Church to conceal nothing of her doctrines or her history, is much the same as if you should say that it is the genius of fire not to burn, or of the thick clouds not to veil the light. I shall not open the pit of abominations in the casuistry of the Jesuits; I shall not detail the catalogue of crimes and perjuries, absolved and pardoned beforehand; the dispensation to assume any heretical religion for the advancement of the Church's interest. On the general topic of concealment in the Romish Church, it might be sufficient to say that an ecclesiastical system, which admits the policy and propriety of direct lies in its support, must *a fortiori* use the less obnoxious stratagem of concealment, as is well known hath always been the custom, whenever occasion demanded it. "It is very well known," says Peter Jurieu, "that the court of Rome, being governed by the most refined politics, makes no collection of pieces that may prove hurtful or dangerous to itself; or if any such were, would not, however, permit them to be made public." Hence, the eminent historian Ranke could not obtain admission to the records of the Vatican for the abundant materials there gathered for a history of the Popes. The Cardinal Pallavicini in his history of the Council of Trent, confesses that the Romish Church mixes in her conduct carnal and worldly policy; that her present government is framed by the

rules of this world, and that this is according to the intention of Christ. That it is not God's intent to root out of our minds our natural inclinations; men are naturally fond of pleasure, wealth and honor, and averse from poverty; and it is fit to accommodate the laws and form the Church according to these inclinations, and that it is a maxim not absolutely true that evil is not to be suffered, to the end that good may come of it. Under the head of opposition to learning this topic will receive additional illustration. I need not go to the pages of history to confute Bishop Hughes' position as to the genius of concealment in the Romish Church; that Church, even in our own country has done it abundantly already; and I only wonder at the boldness of such a position, when I remember the process of expurgation resorted to in the school-books of the public schools in this city; the expurgation of all passages and lessons, though of an historical accuracy beyond question, which recorded any facts or sentiments illustrative of sin or error in the Romish Church. I hold in my hand one of these blackened and expurgated school-books; and I ask you if this midnight page is evidence of a disposition to conceal nothing in the doctrines or the history of the Church? Perhaps this page is intended for the minds of the boys and girls as a symbol of the fearless and open diffusion of knowledge. You see that by means of a lavish use of printer's ink, the types are, as the printers would say, thrown into pi; now whether it is the genius of concealment, or the genius of truth, that has had a finger in this pie, I leave you to judge for yourselves. But perhaps you will ask, What is the nature of the disastrous lesson which it was thought necessary to

conceal from the minds of the children ? It is simply the character of Martin Luther, from the pen of the great historian, Dr. Robertson.

Pass on a few pages farther, and you find two leaves immutably stuck together. Perhaps this is designed for the minds of the children as a symbol of the union of Church and State, and how difficult it is, not to say impossible, when they once come together, to pluck them asunder ; for you see it is impossible to get these two leaves apart, and in point of fact it is the use of civil law enforcing Church opinion that hath stuck them together. But what is the lesson so ignobly imprisoned between them, and which the genius of a system that hath nothing to conceal, has thought fit to shut out with a brush of paste from the light for ever ? Ah, if Rome had never employed anything but paste brushes and printer's ink against the truth, this lesson would have had no existence, no need of expunging. It is the historian Hume's account of the character and martyrdom of Archbishop Cranmer ! Perhaps, since Bishop Hughes avers that Rome disavows the union of Church and State, the sticking together of these two leaves is an emblem of the manner in which that union operates to keep the light from the people. Turn we now a few pages farther, and what have we here under the blanket of darkness, as Shakspeare might call it ? It is a passage in the speech of the Earl of Chatham, in which there is the occurrence of the phrase, Popish cruelties. Now it is not the genius of the Romish Church to conceal anything of her doctrines or her history ; and perhaps this blot in the page, making such an impassable gulf in the stream of Lord Chatham's eloquence, is an emblem of the evil consequen-

ces of schism in splitting and destroying the unity of the Church. But all this is plain prose ; let us see the effect of the genius of fearless non-concealment upon poetry. Here is a sweet lesson from that sweet poem "The Traveller," by the poet Goldsmith ; he is describing the beautiful scenery and the people of Italy, and it is in this poem, you remember, that he says that man seems the only growth that dwindles there ; but that is not one of the lines blotted out ; that has nothing about the Church or the Pope, or the church ceremonies in it. The lines are as follows :

Though grave, yet trifling ; zealous, yet untrue ;  
And e'en in penance planning sins anew.

Now really this crusade of sectarian expurgation against these poor inoffensive school-books is such a laughable freak of intolerance and folly, that it is almost impossible to make a serious business of it. There is but one thing more wonderful than, the folly, and that is, that such an insult upon the good sense, the liberality, the noble public spirit, and the freedom and fearlessness of truth, which have heretofore marked the people and the schools of this city, should have been suffered to be perpetrated.

Where were the Protestant Trustees of our Schools, or rather where was the precious material of common sense and an enlightened conscience, that men could lend themselves to the adoption of such a measure ? What a laughing-stock, or object of suspicious wonder, was presented in these mutilated pages to the minds of the children ! And if you say that a new edition of the school book, omitting the blackened passages entirely, is now placed in the schools, this does not mend

the matter at all. It is a singular state of things indeed, when a book that has received the approbation of all sects, and been used for years without fault in the schools throughout the nation, is to be interdicted in this city, and an expurgated edition prepared purposely to meet the caprices of sectarian prejudice. If the genius of Romanism may come in to expunge and conceal whatever is not accordant with its notions, so may every other sect that may be represented in the ten thousand varying shades of opinion in the families of this city. If this be the case, put up your painting in some public square, and invite every interested individual to come and set a black mark upon that shade or feature in it, which does not suit either his own fancies or the caprices of his priest; and then let the painting so impartially daubed by the genius of universal sectarianism, be engraved and stereotyped for the discipline and instruction of your children.

The maxim that to lie and deceive becomes a duty in the service of the Church, hath been at the foundation of the vastest acts of perfidy performed during the middle ages. The Popes acted upon it when they asserted the claims of St. Peter, and when they released men from all obligations to keep their promises to heretics. The Councils acted upon it, when, as in the case of John Huss, they excommunicated and delivered over to the secular arm to be burned, those whose safety had been promised. Both by Popes and Councils all moral obligations were confounded and dissolved. If a debt were contracted to heretics, there was no obligation to pay it; pity but the State of Mississippi had lived in those blessed days! With what perfect ease and freedom she might have thrown herself back

upon the past decisions of the Church, and told her creditors, You are all heretics, and we owe you nothing; for repudiation towards heretics is piety to the Church. "Fanaticism," remarks Mr. Prescott in his history of Ferdinand and Isabella, "is so far subversive of the most established principles of morality, that, under the dangerous maxim, 'For the advancement of the faith, all means are lawful,' which Tasso has rightly, though perhaps undesignedly derived from the spirits of hell, it not only excuses, but enjoins the commission of the most revolting crimes as a sacred duty." "Be assured," said Pope Martin V., "that thou sinnest mortally, if thou keep thy faith with heretics." "Be it known," said Pope Gregory IX., "to all who are under the jurisdiction of those, who have openly fallen into heresy, that they are free from the obligations of fidelity, dominion, and every kind of obedience to them by whatever bond or means they are tied to them, and how securely soever they may be bound." "Justly therefore," remarked a Romish Bishop, "were some heretics burnt by the most solemn judgment of the Council of Constance, although they had been promised security." The Council of Constance itself declared that heretics who had come under a safe conduct, should, notwithstanding, be punished, and that whoever had given the safe conduct should not be obliged to keep his promise. So John Huss, coming to the Council under a safe conduct from the Emperor, was condemned to the stake and publicly burnt. Now if the Romanists in this country wish to strike out this historical fact from the school books of our children, it is like tearing down one of the warning beacons on a ledge of rocks in the highway of the ocean.

Our next topic in the course of this investigation



will be the nature and consequences of the union of Church and State, in the employment of civil penalties for the compulsion of the conscience in religious things. This perhaps will be the most interesting part of our investigation, involving as it does the nature of religious liberty, the course which religious hierarchies have taken against it, and manifesting more tangibly, as we shall be able to do, the precise mixture of civil and ecclesiastical power in the middle ages, in the manner in which it was felt by the people. We shall see the monarchical tendencies of Popery, and its opposition to republicanism. We shall have occasion to trace distinctly the origin, nature and exercise of the dreadful power of excommunication. Our subject will take us into the literature of the middle ages, and we shall have occasion to look upon the great faces both of Chaucer and Dante. We shall see the structure of that curious body of scholastic learning, the canon law, and we shall see how religious truth could live, and yet be kept perfectly distinct from any influence whatever on the conduct.

#### LESSONS FROM OUR REVIEW.

And now I shall close with an enumeration of some of the lessons taught, and to be taught, in our review. I think we see distinctly the dreadful consequences of a disparity in the clergy, the inevitable strife, ambition, and persecution, growing out of the creation of hierarchical dignities and dignitaries, rising one above another, with an accompanying corruption of the clergy, till like a worldly Babel they pierce the skies, and bring down the lightning of heaven. I think we see also, as we shall develope more fully in the next lecture, the dreadful consequences of

mingling the temporal and spiritual authority, and the necessity of guarding against all approximation to the same. If in this country one particular sect should get the patronage of the State to the exclusion of others; if those religious offices in the power of the government, such as the chaplaincies of our Navy, and of our military schools and establishments, should be so bestowed as to favor a particular sect, this would be an approximation to a state religion; and the bestowment of favors in any State is never very far separated from the infliction of penalties. I think we also see very clearly the universality and disastrous consequences of the lust of power, and how infinitely worse it is in the souls of Ecclesiastics than in Seculars. It invades and usurps God's province in the conscience. I do not now think of any monarch or State that ever, if not urged by ecclesiastical councils or influences, burnt a man to death even for the most atrocious crimes; I say, I do not think of any instance, though such may be produced; but the moment an Ecclesiastic becomes inflamed with ambition, he seems to take naturally to the fire, and in the midst of it he places his victim, though the only crime is a difference of religious opinion. I think it is clear also that it is much more safe for the liberties of mankind that there should be divers religious sects watching one another, than that terrible overwhelming unity, which crushes all heresies by power, and all liberty of opinion with them. Better it were that every Christian should be in himself a separate sect, than the Church of Christ a compulsory Despotism. It was indeed this remorseless, despotic, persecuting unity to which our blessed Lord himself was sacrificed, to prevent a schism in the

Jewish Church. But under whatever form, save that of love to Christ, and a participation in his Spirit, this unity is vaunted, it becomes an unhallowed, worldly, vain, ambitious boast.

By this it came about that men came to be called Church-men rather than Christ's-men, rather than Christians. It was this conversion of the Church into a great lordly Hierarchy, instead of a kingdom not of this world. By this change Christ is displaced by the Church ; this great figment of unity and aggrandizement, the Church, occupies that place in men's minds which Christ alone should occupy ; the glory of the Church and the power of the Church come to be quite another thing than Christ meant should constitute the honor of his kingdom. The glory of the Church and the power of the Church are sought, not as a means of honoring Christ, and spreading the blessings of his salvation, but as a means of worldly distinction and aggrandizement. Nothing can be clearer than this, that the glory with which Christ would clothe his Church on earth is not that of title, distinction, splendor, grandeur, power, hierarchical unity, but that of adding to it continually such as should be saved. It is the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace, which Christ has made requisite, a unity whereby every joint in the whole body compacted together maketh and ministereth increase and strength in the spirit of love. It is the violation and destruction of this unity, it is genuine schism and division, when one party of believers, distinguished by some self-erected and consecrated sign, says to another party that will not assume that sign, You are not of the true Church. It is just as if the hand should say to the foot, Because thou art not the hand, therefore thou art not of the body.

By God's great mercy we have in this country, until of late, been perfectly free from the stir and bluster of these unchurching maxims, although it was the *brutum fulmen*, NO BISHOP NO CHURCH, that drove our forefathers from Europe. And now you may think it strange that we hate so bitterly this sleeping assumption. But we know its fruits. It is a pithy proverb, A burnt child dreads the fire. You may say it is harmless. Yes, at present it is a harmless insult; but it has the capacity of persecution, and we cannot abide it, even sleeping. A black snake, a *cobra capella*, stiffened with the cold, is harmless; but that is no reason why we should have such venomous reptiles at the door-posts of our houses. By and by, when the sun shines on them, they will creep into our parlors, they will hide beneath our pillows, they will sting us while we sleep.

One would have thought, if a badge of exclusion must be taken, a *shibboleth* that would debar from the Christian name and privileges all who could not or would not pronounce it, it would have been either some doctrine clearly revealed in the New Testament, or, if a matter of discipline and government, some point set forth as clearly. Now instead of this, to take an ecclesiastical dignity and dignitary, such as men of all parties acknowledge is not to be found in the New Testament, nor even in the whole first century of Christianity, and to make the possession or acknowledgment of that dignity essential to the name and essence of a Christian Church, and consequently to the name and privileges of a Christian, is an assumption of arrogance and bigotry, of which the bare statement, one would think, is sufficient to show the intrinsic wickedness and

absurdity. And yet, such is the arrogance of those, who pretend that a diocesan bishop is essential to the existence of a Christian Church. They take that which is not to be found in the divine constitution of the church by Christ and his Apostles, and breaking off the signets with which the Saviour hath sealed the assemblies of his people, as branches of the True Vine, they affix a seal of their own invention, and thereupon and thereto attach the bull of excommunication to those who abide by Christ's signet and reject theirs. The men who resisted these pretensions in the face of rigorous penalties and of death itself, and who fled to this country for freedom to worship God, were, as has been powerfully delineated in a late magnificent oration, a lofty, a heroic race; and now to revive those pretensions would be to revive in theory the very intolerance from which our noble forefathers fled into the wilderness. It is to execute a bill of attainder on them, their principles, and their memories; it is for us, here in this land, the plenty and the blessings of which we reap as the fruit of their unbending integrity of conscience, to enact, in reference to their character, the same *unchurching*, intolerant proscription, which drove their bodies out of England.

THE NOBLENESSE AND SACREDNESS OF OUR ANCESTRAL  
REPUTATION.

And we may ask, where in all the world hath it been known that a nation hath thrown scurrility and contempt on the virtues of its ancestry? Men have often feigned an ancestral origin more glorious and more virtuous than it really was; the ancient Greeks

would enshrine heroes as demi-gods, and common adventurers as heroes, when these stood at the fountain and birth of states and empires ; and ever after, as the stream grew wider and farther from its source, they made that source more honorable and glorious ; they magnified it in fable, ennobled it in history, surrounded it with the flame of undying poetry ; but never hath the living stream of a nation's existence turned back to cast reproach upon its mountain origin. And here in this republic, for any party to do this, in regard to the noble principles and virtues of our Puritan Ancestors, is a piece of base recreancy, that every man who has a spark of patriotism in his being, must ineffably scorn. The party influences, or the sectarian religious influences, that could induce men so to belie the noble part of their nature, are a gangrene in our system, which if it be not cured, eradicated, will destroy all patriotic and manly virtue among us. The memory of the early colonists of this country of every sect and persuasion, is a possession to be guarded and cherished not by a party or a church, but by the whole United States of America. The colonists of Georgia, of Virginia, of Maryland, of New York, of Rhode Island, of Massachusetts, of all New England, whatever peculiarities of habit and opinion they brought with them, are the ancestors of this great nation, mingled their blood in the revolution ; their united memory of character and noble deeds, constitutes the ancestral escutcheon of our origin ; and despised be the man, whether he be now a foreigner or native, who shall endeavor to cast a blot upon any part of it. If there have been imperfections, if there have been intolerance, if there have been a mistaken religious faith, if there have been something of

the narrowness and superstition which beclouded and darkened all Europe, and out of which a part of our ancestry issued like lightning from the thunder-cloud, nay, like morning stars from the common darkness of nature, let it not be dwelt upon to their discredit. Let us rather, like Shem and Japheth, go backward with the beautiful garment of filial veneration, and not, like accursed Ham, go out to uncover a father's nakedness. Whatever would lead a man to do this marks him for the scorn of his race ; and above all, if it be sectarian bitterness that would do it, it shows the mean and infernal quality of that ingredient ; for I had almost as soon a man would have burned my father at the stake because of his religious opinions, as cast a reproach upon his virtues, or endeavor to blot out their memory for the same cause.

I am glad of the opportunity plainly and openly to say these things : and here I would add my tribute of thanks to Bishop Hughes, that he has put the Puritan Pilgrims and the Catholic Pilgrims of this country in the same place of grateful recollection in the heart of their descendants, that they fled from the bitterness of a religious persecution. We honor the memory of Sir George Calvert, the noble presiding spirit of the infant colony at St. Mary's, in Maryland, as we do the memory of the tenants of the Mayflower, for he did, in an intolerant age, what no other government in the wide world would do, put all Christian sects by law on an absolute equality. He went in some respects farther than the Puritans, for he rose superior even to the prevailing genius of his own Church. I say, we esteem it our privilege to honor his memory. Dear to our hearts is the memory of all the virtuous

colonists, but dear especially is that noble band, who fled to the savages and wild beasts of this wilderness, for FREEDOM TO WORSHIP GOD ! Dear is the memory of the first Puritan Church, and the first Puritan minister of the colony of Massachusetts Bay ; a church though without a bishop, yet as truly a Church of Jesus Christ, as the whole persecuting establishment of England ; and a minister, though superior to the figment of the Apostolical succession, and though the hand of no earthly prelate ever was laid upon him, yet as divinely ordained a minister of Jesus Christ, as any bishop, from the first Pope to the present moment. I am sure that I speak the feelings of every patriotic and liberal mind in this country, when I say that the memory of our Puritan ancestors is a possession of which the whole nation should be proud and jealous.

Our boast is not that we deduce our birth,  
From loins enthroned, and rulers of the earth ;  
But higher far our proud pretensions rise,  
The sons of fathers passed into the skies !

We boast to have descended from an ancestry, who amidst persecution discovered and carried out the problem, the possibility and the blessedness of which we, their descendants, are demonstrating to the whole world, a problem which we believe to be intimately connected with the possession and preservation of liberty for all mankind, A CHURCH WITHOUT A BISHOP, AND A STATE WITHOUT A KING.



[At the conclusion of the Lecture, the Choir sung the following Hymn, written for the occasion.]

### THE PILGRIM'S LEGACY.

The May-Flower, on New England's coast, has furl'd her tattered sail,

And through her chafed and moaning shrouds December's breezes wail,

Yet on that icy deck, behold ! a meek but dauntless band,  
Who, for the right to worship God, have left their native land ;  
And to a dreary wilderness this glorious boon they bring,  
*"A church without a bishop, and a state without a king"*

Those daring men, those gentle wives—say, wherefore do they come ?

Why rend they all the tender ties of kindred and of home ?  
'Tis *Heaven* assigns their noble work, man's spirit to unbind ;—  
They come not for themselves alone—they come for all mankind ;  
And to the empire of the West this glorious boon they bring,  
*"A church without a bishop, and a state without a king."*

Then, Prince and Prelate, hope no more to bend them to your sway,

Devotion's fire inflames their breasts, and freedom points their way,

And, in their brave hearts' estimate, 'twere better not to be,  
Than quail beneath a despot, where a soul cannot be free ;  
And therefore, o'er the wintry wave, those exiles come to bring  
*"A church without a bishop, and a state without a king."*

And still their spirit, in their sons, with freedom walks abroad,  
The BIBLE is our only *creed*,—our only *monarch*, GOD !  
The hand is raised—the word is spoke—the solemn pledge is given,

And boldly on our banner floats, in the free air of heaven,  
The motto of our sainted sires, and loud we'll make it ring—  
*"A church without a bishop, and a state without a king,"*

## SECOND LECTURE.

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### INTRODUCTION TO THE ARGUMENT.

THERE is a disposition in some quarters to regard every development of the nature of Romanism, as delineated in the pages of history, with the reproach of illiberal zeal or bigotry. We are sometimes told that we have heard often enough that the Catholics burnt John Huss, and the Calvinists Servetus, and that what we need is not to determine who did wrong in time past, but wherein is the security against its repetition in the future. And pray, how can we possibly learn to secure ourselves against its repetition in the future, but by knowing under what influences, in what circumstances, by what bodies or characters, it was committed in the past? For this purpose we must go into the depths and details of history; in regard to religious persecution, we must know who did it, and what for, by what motive, under what influences; and as there is nothing so intensely interesting as the history of religious persecution and of religious liberty, so there can be nothing more instructive to mankind. It is sometimes said that experience, like the stern lights of a ship, only serves to illumine the path that has been passed over. This is terribly true, if we are in the ship ourselves; but if we are tracing the chart to find our right course from

the experience of others, then we wish that every sunken rock and dangerous shallow should be marked ; we want them marked *before* us, from the experience of those who have seen them only in the path that has been passed over, or who perhaps have made shipwreck upon them. That is the light of history, and that the way to use it ; and therefore the charge of bigotry against those who would look narrowly into the nature of the Romish Despotism, and put light-houses upon those fierce jagged reefs, where lie the hulks of so many splendid and costly argosies, is illiberal in the extreme. If Bishop Hughes may make researches into the middle ages, and come to us with the astounding discovery that it is to the Despotism of the Papacy that we owe whatever of civil liberty we now possess, I claim the privilege of examining those same ages, and tracing, for my own satisfaction, the steps of the Apostolical succession, by which the greatest and purest liberty in the world has come to us here in America, not, as we had supposed, from the struggles of our forefathers against monarchical and prelatical oppression, but straight down from the most depraved, hypocritical, and unalloyed despotism in Europe. I am sure such a discovery of our parentage in the middle ages is worth looking after. If, also, our republican practice of representation can be found in their utter rejection of the people from all share in the choice of their ecclesiastical rulers, in the appointment of Bishops by Monarchs, or by the Pope, and in the election of the Supreme Pontiff by the College of Cardinals, let us also trace that amazing fact. Or if our habits of free deliberative discussion can be found in conclaves that met to deliberate on the best method and material for forging chains

for the people ; in the councils of the Lateran, or the council that deliberated on the question whether faith was to be kept with heretics, and then put John Huss and Jerome of Prague into the flames, and condemned John Wickliffe's poor mouldering bones to be dug up and burned, and the ashes thrown into the Trent ; let us have the pedigree ; and if we have wandered away from the paths of light in the Middle Ages, let us try and grope our way back again through the darkness of the Reformation. It might be recommended to the genius that made these discoveries, to consider the question whether Jefferson himself had not been searching the records of the Papacy in the Middle Ages, when he wrote the Declaration of American Independence ; there is no reason why that immortal document should not be found amidst the unequalled freedom of those ages, as well as our Saviour's Sermon on the Mount, amidst their benevolence and immaculate morality.

In truth, if any original mind will make such discoveries, it compels us to follow him ; we cannot resist it, any more than we could avoid going to see the Ark of Noah, if it should be brought into one of the New York Dry Docks for exhibition. We are not therefore to be blamed for following Bishop Hughes into the middle ages ; and if while our instructor is explaining to us the uses of fulminating thunder, we read also a guide-book that describes the consequences of its explosions ; if, while he points us to a huge bomb-shell and tells us it was the nest-egg of liberty, we see it in the guide-book knocking whole cities to pieces and destroying thousands of wretched people at once with its missiles ; we are perfectly right to come to the conclusion that such

thunder and such bomb-shells of freedom were better suited to the dark ages than to ours. If, when he leads us to the cave of Giant Pope, and tells us to observe the footsteps of civil liberty coming out of it, we, on looking narrowly, find there are many footsteps going in, but none returning, and that the cave is a vast catacomb of bones and human ashes, I am sure we are very wise in telling Bishop Hughes that we will put our liberties somewhere else for safe-keeping. If he tells us to note the genuine republicanism of the Pope, and the very great aversion of the Church of Rome to the union of Church and State, we shall tell him that our native republicanism is quite good enough, and that we do not wish to have our veins opened, and any such ecclesiastical ingredients injected into them. Our tree of liberty stands, a native tree, and any graft from the trunk of Popish Republicanism seems to us very suspicious; at all events we are sure that as our tree of liberty did not spring from the roots of the Hierarchical Despotism, so it cannot flourish under any of its dark shadows. We find that we feel the effect of those shadows first of all, there, where the baleful gloom is most pernicious, in the public schools of our children, and that they keep out not only the element of pure historic truth, but the light of heaven; but as long as the country lasts, we will have those two things in our schools, Impartial History, and the Word of God. By God's blessing we will have the sun and the air upon our Tree of Liberty as long as the world stands.

## UNION OF CHURCH AND STATE.

III. Our third point of investigation is the alliance between the civil and ecclesiastical power, or in other words, the union of Church and State.

On this point we have to go back to the combined civil and ecclesiastical constitution of the Roman Empire. The pontifical offices in that constitution were many and important. The highest of them were united with various civil dignities in the persons of the Emperor, the nobles, the senators and leading men of the State. Here was a vast politico-ecclesiastical hierarchy, against which the simplicity of Christianity was opposed in every point. In this opposition, so far as the union of Church and State was concerned, the infant kingdom of Christ grew up, till the Emperor Constantine took it under his protection, and exercised a power over it similar to that which as Roman Emperor he had always been wont to exercise over the religion of Paganism. He took the Christian Church into a strict alliance with the Roman State, and combined in his own person, as King Henry the Eighth did first in England, the highest ecclesiastical and civil authority. He could no longer indeed be himself a Priest, and in establishing by law the Christian religion, he did in effect impose the first limitation on the imperial authority. It was the first legal acknowledgment of any right in a subject apart from the control of the Emperor, when the Emperor himself was excluded from the right of administering the sacraments of the Christian Church. At the same time, in that establishment by law, he made himself the Supreme Head of the Church of Christ on earth, assumed to himself an authority which

Christ alone possesses over his Church, and taught that Church to look to and trust in an earthly head as its protector. From this measure and this period is to be traced the mixture and confusion of spiritual and temporal power, which continued, with but little interruption, for more than fourteen centuries; from this measure is to be traced the assumption, openly, by the Church of Christ, of the characteristics of a kingdom of this world; from this measure is to be traced the almost boundless wealth and power of the Church as a worldly kingdom, and the consequent ambition, corruption and utter wickedness of the whole body of the clergy throughout Christendom.

But you will remark that this measure could not have been adopted, this alliance could not have taken place, had not the Church before that period begun to assume the characteristics of a worldly hierarchy. Had the Church of Christ retained its primitive simplicity, Constantine, on becoming a Christian, would have found nothing in Christianity to take to an alliance with the State, except its religious spirit and obligations. He would have become one of a community of Christians, who would have received him, as any other immortal being, into Christ's simple fold, but would have said to him, in respect to all worldly alliance or patronage of the State, Just let us alone, and simply give to us the liberty to extend our religion, and the same privileges, and no greater, which all the subjects of the Roman Empire enjoy, and we ask no more; we reject everything else, and we render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, and unto God the things which are God's. But instead of this, the Church was already prepared,

when Constantine embraced Christianity, to assume the form of a vast organized, formidable hierarchy, with its ambitious degrees, its grades of power and grandeur rising one above another, its diocesan sees, with ecclesiastical divisions corresponding with the political divisions of the Empire, and contending for the supremacy, its gorgeous rites, its judicial courts, its corporate properties, its convocations and its councils. The Emperor Constantine, in incorporating this great institution by law, and placing himself at the head of it, in legalizing its courts, its possessions, its authorities, in exempting its higher clergy from secular jurisdiction, and in compelling the magistrates to enforce its judicial edicts, did in fact assume to himself a mighty power, which before he did not possess. Nay, he may be said to have created a new worldly power, investing himself with the supremacy in it; taking, as it were, the mould made ready to his hands in the ecclesiastical hierarchy, and pouring into it the element, which was to convert it from the spiritual kingdom of Christ into a consolidated body of combined spiritual and temporal power.

It is true that there was not the full organization already existing; but the tendencies in full there certainly were, the prefigurings, the indications, the suggestions of such a system; and the mind of Constantine was too acute and too quick not to note what would be of such vast utility to the consolidation of his Empire. There were potential ambitious tendencies in the Church, powerfully fostered by grades of authority, which only needed the wand of power in the hands of the Imperial Magician to touch them, and there should stand forth a vast Ecclesiastical Monarchy, the



very counterpart of the Empire, a rib out of its side, but ready to advance from a dependent monarchy in alliance, to an absorbing despotism in itself, that should cover and subdue the world. Alas! the Church herself had prepared herself for the indignity and misery of being wooed and won by the allurements of earthly pomp and splendor to a legalized establishment of alliance with the State. Instead of the Bride the Lamb's wife, the State's Mistress had made herself ready; and the Emperor Constantine, for his part, knew no better, than to believe the alliance perfectly lawful and just. The best that can be said of it is that it was a marriage of convenience and not of love, on both sides; and it resulted, in the course of ages, as most marriages of selfishness and convenience do, in misery to both parties. Yet the Emperor Constantine was a great gainer; the union brought with it a vast addition to his reputation, his authority, his influence. His Ecclesiastical Bride had, to say the least, a magnificent dowry of prelacy and superstition to put at his command. He relinquished nothing of his power over the Heathen world, but he created and assumed a new power in the Christian world, and he saw plainly that it was for his interest greatly to increase that power.

THE ORIGINAL CONSTITUTION OF THE CHURCH OF CHRIST  
UTTERLY FORGOTTEN.

From this time forward the idea of the separation between the spiritual and temporal power is more and more lost sight of and forgotten. In the Christianity of the New Testament, and in the early Church, it is an evident and simple element of Christian existence, and

of the Christian institutions. From the time of Constantine it goes out of being, and the effort of the Romish Church, from the period of her acknowledged supremacy, becomes, more and more clearly and indisputably and without concealment, the possession and concentration of supreme and independent power, both spiritual and temporal, within herself. In this sense, then, it may be said that the Romish Church, at the time of its most uncontrolled despotism over men's liberties, disavowed the union of Church and State, because she arrogated to herself the possession of all power in both, because she said within herself, I am the State, and from me all temporal as well as spiritual power flows. But if this assumption could not be carried out to the full, the Romish Church, compelled to content herself with something lower, always deemed lawful and right whatever union of Church and State might enable her to carry forward her purposes. She never denounced that Union, except so far as it lessened her own power; she always maintained that union if it might increase her power; and she only left it, or repudiated it, in order to rise superior to it, in order herself to control the State. Rome for example, in the very vigorous language of Campbell on the clerical claims of authority over the secular powers, "Rome always asserted resolutely, and in most cases successfully, the clergy's right of exemption from being taxed by the secular powers; but it was in order to slip into the place of those powers, and assume the prerogative of taxing them herself. This, though always controverted by temporal rulers, she so effectually secured, that Sovereigns, in any remarkable exigency, especially when they could plead some holy enterprise, such as a

crusade for the massacre of infidels or heretics, were fain to recur to the Pope, as the easiest and surest way to obtain the assistance of their own clergy. This also gave the Pope an easy method of bribing princes to his side, when he wanted to destroy or mortify any adverse power. It was his usual game to play the bishop against the king; but this, when his subalterns proved mutinous, he could successfully reverse, and play the king against the bishop."

In this place it is, that in furtherance of our argument, I may most conveniently and appropriately add, what ought not to be omitted, some notice of the famous scheme prepared in the Council of Trent for the reformation of secular persons and authorities. The whole chapter of thirteen decrees shows perhaps more perfectly and conclusively the nature of the Romish claims, and the mixture of civil and ecclesiastical power in the middle ages, than any other document in history. The council, confident that princes will acquiesce, and cause due obedience to be rendered to the clergy, admonishes them before other things to oblige their magistrates, delegates, and other temporal lords to render their pastors that obedience, which those princes themselves are bound to perform to the Sovereign Pontiff; and for this purpose anew enforces whatever has been decreed by the sacred canons and the imperial laws in favor of ecclesiastical immunities, which ought to be observed by all under pain of anathema. Some of the decrees were as follows, namely: That ecclesiastical persons may not be judged in a secular court, not even on plea of public utility, nor however doubtful may be their clerical title. That in causes spiritual of matrimony, heresy, patron-

age, beneficial, civil, criminal and mixed, over persons and goods, howsoever belonging to the ecclesiastical court, the temporal judges shall not intermeddle, nor any appeal to the secular magistrate be suffered. That neither the emperor, kings, nor any prince whatsoever, shall make edicts or constitutions, in what manner soever, concerning ecclesiastical causes or persons, nor meddle with their persons, causes, jurisdictions or tribunals, no, not in the Inquisition ; but shall be bound to offer the secular arm to the ecclesiastical judges. That the temporal jurisdiction of the ecclesiastics, though with mere and mixed power, shall not be disturbed, nor their subjects drawn to the secular tribunals in causes temporal. That the letters, sentences and citations of judges ecclesiastical, especially of the court of Rome, so soon as they be exhibited, shall be intimated without exception, published and executed. There was also an epilogue, admonishing all persons to have in veneration the things which concern the clergy, as peculiar to God, and not to suffer them to be offended by others, renewing all the constitutions of popes and holy canons, in favor of ecclesiastical immunity.

The study of these decrees may throw much light on the nature of power in the Middle Ages. The ecclesiastical power could command the aid of the secular ; this always constitutes the union of Church and State, and the supremacy, in a dark period, of the clergy. There was a distinction of the kinds of power, into temporal and spiritual ; but the clergy confounded them whenever they pleased, and the greater part of the ecclesiastical power was strictly temporal. " Under the general term spiritual, they had got included the more important part of civil matters, also, affairs matrimo-

nial and testamentary, questions of legitimacy and succession, covenants and conventions, and wherever the interposition of an oath was customary. Add to these that they were the sole arbiters of the rights avowedly civil of the Church and Churchmen, and in everything wherein these had, in common with laymen, any share or concern."

It is to the Emperors Justinian and Charlemagne that we are to look for the main sources of such a body of mingled temporal and spiritual authority as is here exhibited. What the effect of it must have been for ages on the morals of the clergy themselves, and the well-being of the people, almost every faithful historian has depicted, in presenting the reality of life as it was, in the events that unfolded it. The independence produced in the Bishops over the inferior clergy, when the right of election was taken from them, and the Bishoprics became regal appointments, tended to make that class the most immoral and despotic of all ecclesiastics. "Sole administrator of the revenues of the church," says an Episcopal historian before quoted, "the Bishop possessed the most ample means of plunder and usurpation ; while his close connection with political transactions, and the weight which he exerted in the most important deliberations of the State, so interwove the temporal with the spiritual office and duties, and also added to his legitimate authority so much temporal power, that there were few excesses which he might not hope to commit with impunity. It is therefore without surprise that we find him at one time advancing to battle at the head of his armed attendants, and at another engaged in marauding expeditions, from motives of plunder or private hostility. His habits and

manners alike departed from the ecclesiastical character, and he grew to resemble the rude barons who surrounded him, both in the extent of his power, and the insolence with which he exercised it."

I may add to this what seems the symptom of the highest possible degree of disease in the mingling and confusion of temporal and spiritual things in the Church, the organization of the new religious order of the Knights Templars and others. It has almost always been a question whether the profession of arms were permitted to Christians, or were compatible with salvation; but the Romish Church contrived to make it, as Fleury himself has remarked, a state of perfection, and to join to it the three vows essential to a religious life.

#### FALSE POSITION OF GUIZOT.

It has been said by Guizot that the Church at the period of the incursions of the Northern barbarians upon the Roman empire, was driven to an assertion of the separation of the spiritual from the temporal power, as a means of defence against barbarism. But in point of fact there was no such assertion. The Church never said to the barbarians, "Spiritual and temporal power is distinct, therefore respect our consciences, keep to yourselves, and trench not upon the Church's privileges;" but she said, "The Spiritual power is superior to the temporal, which is bound to pay obedience to the Church, and to carry into execution her edicts." And this was an assertion which corresponded with the whole habits of veneration for priestly authority to which these Northern invaders had been accustomed.

They could understand much more clearly the voice of the Priesthood when it said, We are your gods; or the omnipotent ministers of God, than if it had said, We hold a spiritual authority totally separate from the temporal, and therefore you must respect us. And let me add, the superstitious multitude were much more ready to obey, as well as clear to understand, the simple despotism of the first principle, than the simple, but, to their minds, unintelligible spiritualism of the last. It is in itself one of the greatest absurdities, and, moreover, it is flatly contradicted by all history, and is a mere groundless dream of generalization, to suppose that a principle which was only acted on and understood in the severest early purity of the Christian Religion, and which had been lost sight of and reversed in practice from the time of Constantine, should be suddenly assumed in the midst of increasing corruption, and flashed forth in a preserving light for the protection of the Church from the tide of Northern Barbarism. And yet Guizot has carelessly asserted that the separation of temporal and spiritual power is one of the great benefits which the Christian Church extended to European society in the fifth century! Why! this benefit would have been nothing less than a revulsion and obliteration of the whole ecclesiastical laws of the empire, from Constantine downwards. And yet it is here supposed to have been conferred upon the world amidst the darkness and storms of a deluge of barbarians! But the same writer himself contradicts this position in his very next sentences, when he says, "There already prevailed in the bosom of the Church a desire to separate the governing and the governed. The attempt was thus early made to render the government entirely inde-

pendent of the people under its authority, to take possession of their mind and life, without the conviction of their reason, or the consent of their will. The Church, moreover, endeavored with all her might to establish the principle of theocracy, to usurp temporal authority, to obtain universal dominion. And when she failed in this, when she found she could not obtain absolute power for herself, she did what was almost as bad; to obtain a share of it, she leagued herself with temporal rulers, and enforced, with all her might, their claim to absolute power at the expense of the liberty of the subject." What now becomes of Guizot's first hasty assertion? A Church undertaking to confer upon the world the benefit of a separation of the spiritual and temporal power, and yet laboring to usurp temporal authority, to obtain universal dominion, and in order to get a share, at least, of absolute power, leaguering herself with temporal rulers, and enforcing with all her might their claim to absolute power at the expense of the liberty of the subject! If any who hear me are disposed to doubt that Guizot could have committed such an inconsistency, could so have stultified his own erroneous argument, by so clear an after flashing of the truth, they are requested to turn to pages 56, 57, and 58 of the English edition of his History of Civilization, and read them consecutively. There is not a mind in this assembly but will see in a moment the correctness of what I have advanced. It only shows the facility of hasty, unfounded generalization.



## HISTORICAL PROGRESS OF THE ROMISH DESPOTISM.

Let us now, in the period from Gregory to Charlemagne, for 200 years, and afterwards down to the Reformation, trace some of the steps of this mixture of spiritual and temporal power, this union of Church and State, and finally this centralization of all power in the Despotism of Rome.

One thing is remarkable, you will find, in tracing this union, in pursuing the course of civil and ecclesiastical power, that almost invariably the point where they meet, the point of union, is a point of enormous oppression and crime. Kept by themselves, and under the Divine law of mercy to the world, these two systems of influence, like two enormous thunderclouds, may let fall their contents on the earth in a shower of blessings; but the instant they unite, then the lightning descends, and where it strikes, burns and shatters. Just so with either the union of spiritual and temporal power in one, or the league of spiritual and temporal power for each other's assistance; the meeting is disastrous and destructive to mankind; the thunder roars, and the lightning strikes, burns, and shatters. Nothing can stand against it. The league of civil and ecclesiastical power has always proved a compound blow-pipe of despotism; it can burn up everything.

The first great manifest instance of this union occurs in the year 751, when Pope Zachary, in order to gain the assistance of France against the Greeks and Lombards, assisted the usurper Pepin to depose his master and benefactor Childeric, the King of France, and to possess himself of his crown and kingdom. The Ro-

ish writers say that Zachary, by his pontifical power, deposed Childeric, and raised Pepin to the throne. Pope Zachary's successor, Stephen II., confirmed this act of usurpation, and sent a pontifical letter, enjoining Pepin and his kingdom to assist the Pope and the Romans by making war upon the Lombards. Pepin accordingly marched an army over the Alps against the Pope's enemies, and in his turn assisted the Pope to usurp the imperial dominions in Italy. The next year the Lombard king again invaded Rome, and again Pepin marched into Italy, and in conjunction with the Pope conquered his enemy, and bestowed upon him the beautiful Grecian provinces in the north of Italy, which he had wrested from the Lombard king. The motive of Pepin in this unexampled liberality, which laid the foundation of the Pope's temporal dominion, and constituted him a temporal sovereign, was to expiate his sins, and especially to secure forgiveness for his crime against Childeric. Thus Pope Stephen and King Pepin became reciprocally guarantees of each other's usurpations, Stephen by his spiritual power, and Pepin by his temporal.

Our next step in tracing the progress of this union, brings us to the Emperor Charlemagne. After the death of Pepin, the Lombards again invaded the Pope's territories, and again the Pope sought the monarch's assistance. Charlemagne crossed the Alps with a powerful army, overturned the Empire of the Lombards, confirmed the donations of Pepin to the Pope, besides adding some other cities and provinces in Italy to be possessed by the Romish Pontiff *in perpetuo*. In all this the politic Charlemagne was looking to supreme dominion, and needing the concurrence of the

Romish Pontiff; the Pope was ready to pay almost any price for such a magnificent increase of the temporal possessions of his See; and accordingly in the year 800, Charlemagne was crowned by Pope Leo III., Emperor of the West.

The donations of the Emperor to the Pope were gained from him partly by means of a forged grant of Constantine to the See of Rome, conveying from that Emperor to the possession of the Church, the city and adjacent territories of Rome. Pope Adrian had sent this forged grant to Charlemagne, who fully believed its authenticity, exhorting him to make restitution of what had formerly been given to St. Peter and the Church. Through all the confusion, and uproar in the kingdom of Charlemagne, which for near two centuries followed the death of this great Emperor, the power of the Popes was consolidating, but their dependence on the Imperial Crown still remained. In the year 1073, in the Popedom of Gregory the Seventh, we have another most important era of Pontifical Power, in which the project was conceived, and its execution commenced, of abolishing the connection between the Church and State, by making the State itself dependent on the Church, by centralizing and consolidating universal temporal power in the Roman Pontiff. The foundation was laid by the Seventh Gregory, a most remarkable man, who succeeded in plucking both from the Roman people and the German Emperor all right of interference in the election of the Pope, and fixed that election in the College of Cardinals. One century afterwards another Pope appeared, prepared to carry out the designs formed by the vast ambition of Gregory, and to consummate the Papal Supremacy, temporal

and spiritual, over all kingdoms, ranks, and conditions of mankind.

This was Innocent III. He excommunicated kings, laid kingdoms under interdicts, gave their crowns and possessions to Emperors and Princes, raised the war of persecution against the Albigenses, absolving the subjects of the Count of Thoulouse from their oath of allegiance, excommunicated King John of England, laid the kingdom under an interdict, and declared the throne vacant. He convened the fourth Lateran council, in which all Christendom, East and West, Church and State, submitted to him. In the Crusade against the Albigenses, a pure, simple-minded, holy band of Christians, Innocent III. issued a rescript to all the Lords of the South, to the French king, and to the nation, to take up arms against the Reformers. All the privileges, temporal and spiritual, bestowed on those who fought for Jerusalem, were offered to those who would butcher the Albigenses.

As to the reproaches and slanders with which it has been attempted to blacken the character of the Albigenses, as if this would be some excuse for the infernal crusade against them, I simply refer you to the French Historian, Sismondi, for a fair and impartial survey of their doctrines and their virtues. To a person thoroughly acquainted with the Church of Rome, it would be sufficient seal and testimony to the real excellence of any body of sectarians, that in the plenitude of her power she persecuted them unto tortures and death; to her, an evident token of perdition, but to them of salvation, and that of God. "Those very persons," says Sismondi, "who punished the sectaries with frightful torments, have alone taken upon themselves to

make us acquainted with their opinions ; allowing, at the same time, that they had been transmitted in Gaul from generation to generation, almost from the origin of Christianity. Nevertheless, amidst many puerile or calumnious tales, it is still easy to recognize the principles of the sixteenth century amongst the heretics who are distinguished by the names of Vaudois or Albigeois." Among other things, they charged with idolatry the exposure of images in the churches. Their country was lovely, their community happy and prosperous. Pope Innocent, the Fanatic of Hell, resolved to exterminate them.

Under this Pope grew up the dreadful conflicts between the Guelphs and Ghibellines, which devastated all Italy, the first party supporting the rights of Emperors, the second the usurpations of the Pope. Thus the centralization of power went on, the very conflicts that seemed to shake, in the end consolidating it, throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. For a season it was the habit of mankind to have a Pope in everything ; centralization and despotism were the prevailing ideas in religion, in philosophy, in politics. The Pope in Rome, Aristotle in philosophy, and the German Emperor in political power, divided the world. But this idea of centralization, unity, despotism, admitting in religion no rivals, the pontifical power soon absorbed all others, by the very universality and remorseless simplicity and consistency of its claims. The great whirlpool of the world admitted inferior eddies to circle within itself, so they did but all tend towards the great devouring centre. Thus the various orders of monks in these centuries were so many legalized licenses to the spirit of sectarianism, that otherwise

would have burst out in hostility to the Church of Rome. The Popedom acted like the French Government in sanctioning houses of ill-fame, and gathering a revenue out of them. The pontifical power provided and sanctioned these craters for the lava of opinion, of sectarianism, as so many safety-valves, that, being kept under management and control by the great central power and intelligence, could let the steam of heresy itself collect and roar and spend its fury, since it all combined to turn the engine of pontifical despotism with more resistless, overwhelming force. In point of fact, heresies were broached among these monks, that, if they had been discovered in any organization or state that did not acknowledge the Pope's supreme authority, would have been the signal for the massacre of the inhabitants of whole provinces. Thus, if liberty of opinion must be admitted, the pontifical despotism adopted the policy, as somewhere has been expressed, and I think in Jortin, of "walling them in," and letting them play their tricks, like so many lunatics, in their separate wards, all under the seal and keeping of the Ecclesiastical Empire. This could well be done with all heresies but those that proceeded directly from the word of God, and laid open the enormous vices of the Romish Constitution. Against such as these, exterminating crusades could always be launched by the Pope's fulminating thunders. The varieties of philosophical opinion could be safely admitted, indeed they were absolutely useful to the Pontifical despotism, as giving employment and exercise to the strongest and acutest minds under its dominion, whose awakening energies would otherwise inevitably have worked upon the glaring abuses of the Church, upon the con-

cealed truths of the Gospel, and upon the ideas of popular and individual freedom. Besides, when any of the vagaries of philosophical opinion went too far, or became absolutely dangerous, the terrors of excommunication were ready at hand to cut off their sources of life, and convert them into monsters for the world's devouring fear and hatred. I am reminded of the familiar couplet in one of the primers of our childhood,—

The cat doth play,  
And after slay.

For as a cat does with a mouse before she eats it, so did the Court of Rome in her play with heresies, and with permitted heretics; when she became tired with them, or when they sought to escape her jurisdiction, but a word and a blow was needed. And if they were scriptural heresies, the heresies of true piety, the whole malignity of that court was let loose upon them from the first discovery.

It is quite impossible to follow the course of the Romish Hierarchy in its union of all power, temporal and spiritual, in and under itself, in greater detail, from the point where we have now arrived, for we enter on a sea of miseries. It will be sufficient to indicate, as personifications of the nature and spirit of this Hierarchy, Pope Gregory IX. in the thirteenth century, under whom Death on the Pale Horse rode over the world through the gates of the INQUISITION; Boniface VIII. in the fourteenth, who styled himself universal Lord, in all things spiritual and temporal, who declared in his Bull *Unam Sanctam*, that there is but one Church of Christ under one head, all out of which

necessarily perish ; that the swords spiritual and material are both in the power of the Church, the first to be wielded by the priesthood, the second for the priesthood by kings and soldiers ; that the temporal power is subjected to the spiritual, otherwise the Church would be a double-headed monster ; that whosoever resists this order of things resists the ordinance of God, and that it is absolutely necessary to salvation that every human being should be subject to the Roman Pontiff. In the person of Alexander VI. in the fifteenth century, denominated the Nero of the Popes, with his son Cæsar Borgia, we have the climax of combined power and wickedness. Alexander and his son were one and the same incarnation. As the unity of the heart is to be seen in its own central action, as well as in the quality of the blood which it sends to the very extremities of the body, so the perfect nature of the Pontifical despotism is to be seen in its play in its own central temporal sovereignty. "The head of the Church," says the historian Ranke, "pursued the interests of his temporal sovereignty with greater ardor and pertinacity than heretofore, and devoted all his activity to their advancement. For some time things had strongly tended this way. Formerly, said an orator in the Council of Basle, I was of opinion that it would be well to separate the temporal entirely from the spiritual power ; but I have learned that virtue without force is ludicrous ; that the Pope of Rome, without the hereditary possession of the Church, is only the servant of kings and princes." Pope Sixtus IV. pursued this scheme of personal domination ; Alexander VI. completed it. After a description like the dark, stern coloring of Tacitus, of the hell of crime in Italy under Alexander's



despotism, Ranke observes, "there was but one point on earth where such a state of things was possible; that, namely, at which the plenitude of secular power was united to the supreme spiritual jurisdiction. This point was occupied by Cæsar. There is a perfection even in depravity. The complaint arose that the Pope labored for the coming of the kingdom, not of Heaven, but of Satan."

Now, I wish you to remark from this review the manner in which the Church of Rome may be said to disavow the union of Church and State. It is simply thus in the sense of Boniface VIII., "that the temporal power is subjected to the spiritual, otherwise the Church would be a double-headed monster." Wherever there has not been this subjection, the Church has sought the loan and use of the temporal power for her purposes; in a word she has been contented to ally herself with the State, whenever she could not render herself superior to it; and now, wherever in all the world the Romish Church can employ the arm of the State for her purposes, that union of Church and State will be deemed legitimate and just.

Need I point to modern instances? There are some most marvellously to our purpose. You may take the Sandwich Islands, for example. I would like to ask, What was the violent introduction and establishment of the Roman Catholic religion in those islands, together with the trade in French brandy, enforced at the mouth of cannon, by French ships-of-war? Was it not the use of the secular arm by the Romish Church to accomplish her purposes? Was it ever disavowed either by the French Government or the Romish Church? It was as palpable an instance

of tyranny in the union of civil and ecclesiastical power, as can be found in the whole history of the middle ages; nor is the use of the secular power any more repudiated now, than it was in those ages. Nor can any man doubt that had our own country been in a position similar to that of the Sandwich Islands with reference to the French Government and the Romish Church, and as weak as the Sandwich Islands, precisely the same tyranny would have been exercised upon us. For why should not French priests and French brandy be enforced upon one country as well as another? We indeed are too strong; but I am simply showing that the principle, the disposition, the willingness exists, and except by individuals, as in the case of Bishop Hughes, is never, that I am aware of, disavowed. Nor do I think that Bishop Hughes' disavowal would have the slightest effect upon his own Church, if that Church should have presented to her an opportunity to establish herself by power. She would have no scruple whatever to use the arm of secular authority in her own behalf. I suppose that she would feel bound to do this by her own spiritual allegiance to the Pontiff at her head. If Bishop Hughes disavows it, so much the greater credit to him; but the disavowal is in the face of the practices and principles of his own Church in all past generations. I hope, for one, that the Romish Church in this country will bear him out in this disavowal, will remind him of it, will keep him to it. Other men have disavowed it besides himself; the great Romish ecclesiastical historian, for example, the excellent and learned Abbé Fleury, makes the same disavowal, and uncovers with great plainness many of the enormities of the Romish

system; but his voice has no effect whatever on the Church.

Bishop Hughes has denominated the union of Church and State, which in point of fact has characterized the existence of the Romish Church ever since its organization as the supreme universal hierarchy, a *historical accident*. It is a singular accident, which took 1500 years in happening, and which is still happening every day. He makes the acute remark that if God by his own omnipotence had ordered the affairs of the world differently for 1500 years, those affairs would have *happened* differently.

#### RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION.

IV. We come now to the fourth great principle of evil, the employment of civil penalties for the compulsion of the conscience in religious things. This is the most dreadful result of the alliance between the civil and ecclesiastical hierarchies. Were there no other alliance, the use of civil penalties by the Church would constitute such an alliance. It is vain to say that the Church does not seek such alliance; if, when the use of civil penalties is offered or rendered possible by the State, the Church avails herself of them, she deliberately unites herself to the State. It is the very principle in common law, that the receiver is one with the thief. And now, in pursuit of this point, I shall show what indeed has already been made manifest, the perfect truth of that popular view of the subject, wherein we are apt to imagine that the Church and the State were two great tyrants, who, if they had kept separate, could not have accomplished much to the detriment of mankind; and who, for this reason, agreed to unite, for

the purpose of more effectually enthralling their common subjects. I agree perfectly with Bishop Hughes, in supposing that at the period when the union of Church and State first took place, it is quite probable, that neither the heads of the State, nor the authorities of the Church, had the slightest anticipation of the ulterior consequences to which it has led. But the ambition which had already become rife in the Church, and which grew with frightful rapidity after this union, almost immediately laid hold of it as the organ of religious persecution, and the means of unlimited temporal authority and power. At first it is manifest the great bond of union was the legalization of that ecclesiastical tribunal of which I have spoken. It is very clear that such a spiritual tribunal existed by courtesy before the time of the Emperor Constantine. Being by him established by law, and temporal authority given to it, it became a mixed temporal and spiritual judiciary of irresistible power. I shall not attempt to trace in detail the history of religious persecution. Everywhere it is the history of the union of Church and State. The Emperor Honorius, in the year 414, made a cruel decree against the African Donatists, denominated heretics. The civil magistrate in Africa, fearful of offending the Emperor, by showing any favor to the Donatists, unwilling also to put the law against them in execution, consulted Augustine, who advised him by all means to use the utmost rigor as the best way of converting these schismatics, and of compelling them to come in; since it was better that some should burn themselves, as they had threatened to do in their own churches, than that they should all burn eternally in hell. It is a melancholy truth that Augustine was one of the first advocates for the severe punishment of heretics. In the

year 385 Priscillian, a Bishop in Spain, was by the Emperor, through the persuasions of some Bishops opposed to him, committed to a civil judge for sentence, and was, with some of his adherents, put to death; the first instance on record of a criminal prosecution for heresy. The laws of Theodosius against heretics, and for the prohibition of their worship of God according to their own conscience, were of inexorable severity. "The theory of persecution," says Gibbon, "was established by Theodosius, whose justice and piety have been applauded by the saints; but the practice of it in the fullest extent, was reserved for his rival and colleague Maximus, the first among the Christian princes who shed the blood of his Christian subjects on account of their religious opinions. Since the death of Priscillian, the rude attempts at persecution have been refined and methodized in the holy office, which assigns their distinct parts to the ecclesiastical and secular powers. The devoted victim is regularly delivered by the priest to the magistrate, and by the magistrate to the executioner."

The councils of the Church united with the laws of the empire, to establish the dominion of terror and force over men's consciences. Their grand business came at length to be the condemnation and punishment of religious opinion maintained in opposition to the Church. Uniformity of religious opinion was the law of the ecclesiastical despotism; the punishment of opinion was the crushing weight of ecclesiastical unity. This mixture of spiritual and temporal power was not confined to ecclesiastical courts or bodies. Bishops and other Church dignitaries became Counts, Dukes and Marquises, with temporal territory and jurisdiction. "In the acts of the Council of Soissons, about the middle of the

ninth century, Bishops are empowered to scourge and beat the peasants and vassals belonging to any of the nobles, when they deserved correction. Thus, says Fleury, the prelates mingled temporal with spiritual jurisdiction. But they carried their insolence much farther, for about this time they began to claim the power of deposing kings." (Jortin. 4: 501.)

From this time downward the path of the Romish hierarchy is almost literally tracked in blood. The history of the Inquisition is a history of war on the part of the Romish Church united with the State against the freedom of religious opinion. This remarkable invention, and the establishment of it in the various countries of Europe, and its instrumentality in support of the Papal power, constitute the most perfect development of the dreadful influence of the union of temporal and spiritual power against the liberty of man. And this institution, this horrible engine of cruelty, is solely the institution of the Romish Church; it is the offspring of the combination of temporal and spiritual power in that Church. And yet, in the language of Bishop Hughes, this combination is simply "a historical accident in the annals of the Catholic Church. It happened so; but if Providence had arranged the outward affairs of the world differently, it would have happened otherwise." The Inquisition is one of the most tremendous accidents that ever happened to mankind; the union of Church and State by which this accident happened is itself also an historical accident which was happening for fifteen centuries; but if God had made a different world it would not have happened.

The history of the crusades against the Waldenses

and the Albigenses is another of those horrible accidents springing from the accidental union of Church and State in the Romish Hierarchy. The proclamation of the Crusade by Pope Innocent III., and the army of half a million, under the banner of the Church, to exterminate with fire and sword the poor band of conscientious religionists, are the most infernal accidents in history. Such, too, was the massacre of the whole 23,000 people of Beziers. Such, too, was the comprehensive answer of the Romish Abbot who ordered the assault, when consulted as to the fate of any Romish inhabitants who might be in the city, "Kill all! God will find out who belong to him!" A ferocious expression, which, Croly well observes, passes into a portraiture of the men and their times. These were the accidents of history; historical accidents these, that make up the body of history for centuries. These tremendous events are, however, the accidents more particularly of the Romish Pontificate; itself the greatest of all historical accidents.

#### BURNING FOR HERESY IN ENGLAND.

We will now pass over to England, and survey one of these accidents there, that it may be seen that they were not confined to the Pontifical court, nor to any part of the Romish Church, nor to any exclusive age in her existence, but were common to all countries and times, where the great historical accident of the Romish Church itself was established. We pass to the land of John Wickliffe, to the reign of Henry the Fourth, who seized the crown by the deposition of King Richard.

In this usurpation of the throne he was greatly assisted, mark you, by Archbishop Arundel, and being resolutely bent upon securing possession of the crown, by whatever means, he courted the favor of the Church ecclesiastics. This could be gained in no more direct way, than by the punishment of the followers of Wickliffe. Their number was multiplying so rapidly, that the clergy began to regard the existing laws made to check the growth of heresy inadequate to their object. Whereupon they worked upon the king in representing the advantage he would gain by having a new law for the burning of heretics. Hence, in the year 1401, the bloody statute, called the statute *ex officio*, was enacted by the English Parliament at the instigation of this Henry the Fourth, set on by the Romish ecclesiastics, authorizing and commanding the bishops to proceed against all persons suspected of being tainted with heresy. Such as were found guilty, and would not recant, were to be "burned in the sight of all the people, to the intent that this kind of punishment might be a terror unto others." This is one of the most remarkable examples in all history of the union of Church tyranny and State despotism for the destruction of men's liberties. We see two bitter usurpations uniting for the same selfish purpose, the support of despotic power; they seek to accomplish it by the same end, and strengthen each other's ascendancy by imprisonment, tortures, and flames. The formation of this statute, by the English Parliament, with the influences under which it was procured, is a historical accident that reads a most terribly instructive lesson to mankind. It was the first time that the records of English jurisprudence were disgraced by a law to burn human be-



ings for the crime of choosing their own religious opinions. This is so amazing an exercise of bigotry and infernal cruelty under the guise of religion, that it is interesting and satisfactory in the highest degree to see the precise motives under which the power and its practice were established, to feel assured that there was no mixture of piety or of conscience in it, but the most diabolical league on record for the support and success of selfishness and crime. The king sought to support his usurpation by the favor of the priests; the priests sought to support their usurpation by the power of the king; and both joined in putting men to death for the liberty of conscience. Under this law, William Sau- tre, the pious rector of the parish of St. Osithe in London, was the first person burned to death in England.

In grouping together the points of evil in the government of the Church from the fifth to the twelfth century, Guizot observes, that in respect to liberty, two bad principles met together. "The first was a denial of the rights of individual reason—the claim of transmitting points of faith from the highest authority downwards, throughout the whole religious body, without allowing to any one the right of examining them for himself. The second vicious principle was the right of compulsion assumed by the Romish Church; a right, however, contrary to the very nature and spirit of religious society, to the origin of the Church itself, and to its primitive maxims." A third evil and tyrannical principle Guizot mentions, that of violent interference with human thought, human liberty, private morals, individual opinions, the inward man, the conscience. Now unite these principles, as Guizot declares they were united in the Romish Church,

and you have the most perfect, dreadful, remorseless, of all despotisms. You have a despotism that despotizes and persecutes on principle, and for pretended conscience' sake. Of all fanaticism, that is the most dreadful. "With an anathematizing Deity, an anathematized world, and himself safe in the heart of *the only Church*, the zealot wants nothing that can render him malign and insolent." These are the words of an acute and powerful writer, the author of "Ancient Christianity."

The Apostle Paul was an example of this fanaticism before his conversion; and he was the most terrible enemy of human and religious liberty then in existence. He persecuted the Church of Christ because he verily thought he was doing God service; and he thought himself bound to do it for the consolidation, the unity, of his own hierarchy. St. Paul, before his conversion, was the incarnation of Churchism without religion; the prophetic incarnation in a Church abandoned of God, of that zeal for the unity of the Church, that zeal for an Ecclesiastical Hierarchy, which afterwards constituted the sole piety of the world for ages, and which flamed over the earth as Paul did over Judea, haling men and women, and committing them to prison, to tortures, to death, because they differed from the established religion—because they would worship God according to the dictates of their own conscience. Doubtless Divine Providence suffered Paul to pass through this remorseless discipline of savage zeal, that when he came out of it, he might have such a horror of religious persecution, such a dread and hatred of zeal without love, and such a spirit of indomitable freedom, as should form an example to the world. Accordingly, you see in him an eagle eye

discern the features of that despotism which even then was beginning to cast its frowning shadows over the cradle of the infant Church. You see in him a spirit of fearless independence, a resistance to oppression, a jealousy against those who were coming in privily to spy out the liberty which they had in Christ Jesus, an electric fire of religious freedom, that you see nowhere else. Not another Apostle ever was appointed to utter that great sentence, "WHERE THE SPIRIT OF THE LORD IS, THERE IS LIBERTY." It was to this man, to whose spiritual sight was unveiled, as he was guarding and praying for the spiritual welfare of Christ's Church—(her spiritual welfare, which was all the welfare he cared for, and all the welfare in danger; and not her temporal power, which he had nothing to do with, and of which she would have enough, if she sought first the kingdom of God and his righteousness)—it was to this man, thus wearing out soul and body in the flame of Christ's love to his people, that was unveiled and bodied forth from out the darkness of the future, the vast towering form of Anti-Christ, sitting in the temple of God, and showing himself that he is God. The soul of the Apostle, for a season, must have quailed before that vision; it made him ever afterwards a sadder and a wiser man. He saw, filling the whole horizon of the world, the grim features of the Man of Sin and Son of Perdition; and again and again did the vision come up to him; and, when it did, then his prophetic pencil touched into definite light, for others, some of its awful prominences. Then he spake of seducing spirits and doctrines of devils; of lies in hypocrisy and consciences seared with hot iron; of forbidding to marry and commanding to abstain from meats. Then he said, "Let

no man judge you in meat or drink, or in respect of an holy day, or of the new moon, or of the Sabbath. Let no man beguile you of your reward in a voluntary humility and worshipping of angels." Then he said of those false brethren who came in privily to bring them into bondage: "To whom we gave place by subjection, no, not for an hour, that the truth of the Gospel might continue with you."

#### EXCOMMUNICATION—ITS ORIGIN, POWER, AND ABUSE.

Connected intimately with this branch of our argument is the history of the origin, nature, and dreadful increase and abuse of the power of excommunication. The simplicity of Church discipline in the primitive Church, you may find in the 18th chapter of Matthew, patient, quiet, affectionate, and, in the last resort, that, namely, of cutting off the offender from the membership of the Church, designed for his good and for the purification of the Church, and not for punishment. The first real abuse of this power was when Church censure came to be regarded as a punishment and a compulsory measure, or an assertion of pre-eminence on the part of one Church over another, or of one bishop over others. Even in the time of John, this evil had commenced: "I wrote unto the Church, but Diotrophes, who loveth to have the pre-eminence among them, receiveth us not. Wherefore, if I come, I will remember his evil deeds which he doeth, prating against us with malicious words; and, not content therewith, neither doth he himself receive the brethren, and forbiddeth them that would, and *casteth them out of the Church.*" In the case of those who made divisions and offences, contrary to the Gospel, Paul's direction was simply to "avoid them." (Rom. 16, 17.) And af

(2 Thess. 3, 14), "to note such a disobedient man, and have no company with him, that he might be ashamed. Yet, count him not as an enemy, but admonish him as a brother."

I have already delineated the progress of the mixed civil and ecclesiastical judicature, and the unlimited height of power to which it arose, traced so clearly by Campbell and others, to Paul's simple caution not to go to law before unbelievers, and also to the 18th of Matthew. In a like gradual manner, on such passages as have now been noted, grew up a system of Church punishments, grades of penances, and at length the supreme and awful terrors of excommunication in the middle ages. At first, the measure of excommunication was resorted to principally in reference to those who, in times of persecution, fell away—the *lapsi*, as they were called; and schisms and controversies took place concerning the treatment of such *lapsi*. The first instance of an appeal to the civil power in the discipline of the Church, was about the year 313, in the case of the Donatists, against whom severe laws were passed by the emperor. When the general councils, supported by imperial power, came to establish positive articles of faith for catholic uniformity, schisms and heresies became frequent, and theological controversies became political disputes. Henceforward, excommunication became a mixed civil and ecclesiastical weapon of dread severity and power. Banishment was connected with it—exclusion from various privileges and offices, and ineffable odium and disgrace. The bishops availed themselves of the arm of the state to put down their enemies; and, in proportion as the morals of the Church became more corrupt, the treatment of heretics became constantly more severe. The

cruel enforcement of a rigid uniformity in opinions and ceremonies formed a sort of balance to the utmost laxity and wickedness in morals. From the period of Constantine, the terror of excommunication, enforced by the civil law, increased; but, from the seventh century downwards, they began to assume the awful character and power, which at length could hurl kings from their thrones and make common men to be shunned and persecuted as demons.

Of the terror with which the curse of excommunication was regarded, even when unattended by civil penalties, and inflicted without cause, and at an early period, even before the establishment of the papal power, you may form some idea from the fact related by Theodoret, and commented on by Valesius, and to be found, both fact and comment, in the pages of Jortin, that an impudent monk came one day to the Emperor Theodosius to beg some favor, and being by him refused, deliberately excommunicated him, and then went his way. The superstitious emperor, thereupon, would neither eat nor drink till the monk could be found and persuaded to take off the curse. "This is a proof," remarks Valesius, "that the canon law is true, which declares that excommunication, *though unjustly inflicted*, is to be dreaded." What cold, grim shadows of superstition and religious despotism were at this time creeping over men's minds!

But this freak of the monk, and this terror of the emperor, were child's play in comparison with the indescribable horrors with which this ecclesiastical punishment was afterwards invested. The fabled freezing prodigies of Medusa's head, all

"Gorgons and hydras and chimeras dire,"

are harmless fancies by the side of it. I know of no-

thing that might stand as a description of it, but Milton's awfully sublime picture of Death in company with Sin, keeping guard over hell. Its fulminating bolts were demoniac lightning and thunder; they accomplished infernal purposes. The excommunicated person, by his exclusion from the rites of the Church, became abhorred of God and man; the interdict of human society was laid upon him; he lost all rights as a man and a citizen; a creature stricken with the plague could not be an object of more suspicious horror and hatred; a man was no longer regarded as a husband, or father, or neighbor, but as a brute, a fiend, an outlaw, an enemy. Heaven and earth were against him, the curse of the elements was upon him, humanity itself scowled on him and shuddered at him, when the ban of the Church marked him for universal fear and detestation. He could own no property, hold no office, receive no favor, retain neither relative nor friend. The curse of the Church froze up the life-blood even of natural affection; it could turn parents against children, and children against parents; it absolved subjects from their allegiance to kings; it set the son and heir apparent in arms against the kingly father. The curse extended to the dead; the body could have no Christian burial; and the soul under it was to be bound and buried in hell for ever. In England, in the thirteenth century, when the kingdom was laid under a national ban, all the churches were closed, all the ceremonials and institutions of religion suspended, except baptism, confession, and the viaticum in the last extremity; the images of the saints were laid on the ground, the bells were silent, the funeral solemnities were abandoned, and the dead thrown into pits. A total eclipse of the

sun at noon-day, in the most ignorant and superstitious ages of the world, would not strike half the deadly terror that this did into the human mind. So ghastly and horrible a form of superstition was it in the fullness of its power.

And this power is traced with great skill and certainty, first to the excommunicating ceremonies of the Pagan priests, second to the awful forms of the religion of Druidism; the Christian excommunication being supposed by the ignorant proselytes and the superstitious barbarians to possess the same effect with the Pagan. When the Druids excommunicated a man, the unhappy wretch, interdicted from the sacrifices, was shunned by the whole world as an infernal pest; no speech was had with him, and he was like to die from universal abhorrence and neglect. All these exotic terrors the Romish priests soon transplanted and naturalized in their own system, which they thus made infinitely a stronger despotism over mankind. No language can describe, no mind can conceive, in this day of light and freedom, how awful and omnipotent it was in this one element of superstitious power. If the Pope could have stood on the steps of his palace in Rome, and at a wave of his wand could have filled the universal world with grinning, gliding spectres, if he could have called frogs up out of the rivers, if he could have turned the dust into lice, and the day into midnight darkness, he could scarcely have wielded a more tremendous spell of superstition over men's minds. And how infinitely abhorrent from this are the whole spirit and measures of the Gospel, not one word need be said to remind you. But you will remark that this punishment, even in the darkest age, could never have compressed such an active intensity of suffering and



terror in itself, had it been merely a spiritual punishment, had it not been united with the plenitude of temporal power, had it not been able to wield the secular arm in all ways, for its execution. And you will remark that as a crisis of evil, its power was a concentration of almost all the abuses and corruptions of Christianity, and all the mistaken conceptions of mankind in regard to the clergy, and their illimitable power over the spiritual world, fostered during successive ages by the priesthood. It was the great iron padlock that gathered together, in one enormous adamantine bolt, all the chains which superstition had been winding round the human mind for ages. And methinks that Satan on his dark throne, even with his face of pain, must have grinned a lurid smile of exulting malignity when he heard the Pope on earth put his key into that padlock, and turn its crashing, resounding, thundering bolt upon the nations. I am reminded of Mr. Coleridge's terrific eclogue:

“Where all the fiends that damned be  
Clapped their hands, and danced for glee;  
They no longer heeded me,  
But laughed to hear hell's burning rafters  
Unwillingly re-echo laughers!”

For if there could be such a scene in hell, it would be when such vast scenes of blasphemy and cruelty as required the full mixture of human ingenuity and infernal malignity, were transacted upon earth.

Here, then, in the exercise of this power of excommunication, you see the Union of Church and State in its perfection. I have already shown how, in the very deepest darkness of the noon of the world's night, and amidst the very supreme exercise of the power of the

Papacy, with all mankind trembling, shivering, and pale before it, with empires at its beck, doubters in its dungeons, rebels in its fires, it could say, if it pleased, The Romish Church abhors the Union of Church and State, simply because it could say, The Romish Church will not recognize the State as a partner or rival in power, but will rather employ it as a tool and a servant! In the execution of this power of excommunication there was such an employment. And I thank Bishop Hughes, with all my heart, that in his Lecture he has himself turned our attention towards it, though in the attempt to palliate and excuse and justify its exercise. Certainly of all apologies for the power of excommunication, and the launching of its thunders on the world, it is the most singularly amusing to say that at least the Popes let loose their thunders with equal facility against the poor and the rich, against the weak and the powerful, against rebellious serfs, ecclesiastics, and emperors. The Pope was impartial, nobly impartial, in the use of this terrific power! Certainly he was. He launched it against *all* the Pope's enemies. It was the impartiality of a power in exercise, determined to bring all men and authorities in subjection to it; so that whether the rebellion were in the uplifted soul and sceptre of a monarch, or in the lowly heart of a monk in Eisleben, or in the harmless simplicity of poor pilgrims travelling towards heaven in the valleys of the Waldenses, loose went that thunder, striking the Monarch from his throne, the peasant into fires and dungeons, and the Eisleben monk too, if God had not held him in his own hand, high above all earthly thundering and lightning. It was the impartiality of a remorseless evil will, sacrificing all that stands against it; the impartiality of a

forest conflagration, that at once crackles the giant trees, and consumes the shrubbery and the grasses. Impartiality indeed! The Church is made a vast Juggernaut to be dragged over the prostrate neck of men's liberties, and you apologise for the butchery it makes of thousands of poor people under its wheels, by telling us that now and then it rolls over and crushes crowned heads and nobles! Yes! this was the impartiality of excommunication! May God in his mercy preserve our fallen world evermore from such antics of damnation. It is almost a libel on our fallen human nature, bad as that is, to attempt any apology for them.

You may learn, from what has been said on this topic, in what sense to take the assertion of Bishop Hughes, that excommunication was the highest penalty known to the Church. It was indeed the highest, because it comprehended all others, and could direct against its helpless victim, any engines of cruelty, or all at once, which ecclesiastical ingenuity could devise, or the secular arm, at the suggestion and command of the Church, could set in motion. It was the highest, because it went before all others, and prepared the way for the infliction of all miseries and tortures; it was, as I have said of the Inquisition, like Death on the Pale Horse issuing out of hell, and hell following with it, with power over the earth, to kill with the sword, and with hunger and with flames, and with death and with the beasts of the earth. I beg my hearers to read, in Prescott's admirable history of Ferdinand and Isabella, the seventh chapter of the first volume, on the establishment of the modern Inquisition. And I beg their attention to this historian's opinion concerning Llorente's History of that infernal

tribunal. "It well deserves to be studied," says he, "as the record of the most humiliating triumph which fanaticism has ever been able to obtain over human reason, and that too during the most civilized periods, and in the most civilized portion of the world. The persecutions endured by the unfortunate author of the work prove that the embers of this fanaticism may be rekindled too easily even in the present century."

## A LESSON FOR MANKIND.

The history of religious persecution reads an awful lesson to mankind. It shows that intolerance is as natural to the human mind as the love of power, and that every religious sect in turn, when it has gained the power, has persecuted. It is a terrific fact that in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, the Protestant Queen, more than 160 Roman Catholic Priests and others were put to death for their religion. Queen Elizabeth being the heartless murderer of Queen Mary of Scotland, it is not so surprising that she should also burn others. But this hideous cruelty has been practised even by benevolent and pious men, so that we find there is no safety against intolerance but to deprive it of power. When you have done this, you have taken the fangs out of the viper, but not before. Take the catalogue of good men of every persuasion who have persecuted even unto death, and you are compelled to acknowledge that religious intolerance seems the last element of human depravity, that ever yields to the influence of grace; it is the last demon that goes out of the mind, and the hardest to exorcise. Neither learning, nor refinement, nor natural gentleness and mildness, nor magnanimous virtue, nor generosity, nor religion

itself, are proof against it. Therefore let it never have the power.

Here I would desire the audience, if they have opportunity, to consult the tenth lecture, with its admonitory appendix, in the admirable volumes of Professor Smyth, of Cambridge in England, on Modern History ; a work republished in this country under the care of Jared Sparks, L.L. D., and forming an invaluable text book. The author's remarks on the subject of religious persecution are full of instruction. He enumerates some of the best men who have been guilty of it. "Pliny, Louis the Ninth, before the Reformation ; Melancthon, Cranmer and Ridley, after the Reformation. If there be any characters in history, that in every other respect but this of intolerance, are the ornaments of their nature, they are these. If these are not favorable specimens of mankind, none can be found ; vigorous in their understandings, cultivated in their minds, gentle in their nature, conversant with the world and its business, refined and pure and perfect, as far as in this sublunary state perfection can be found. These are certainly most awful lessons."

But with all this, it must ever be kept in mind that there is a difference heaven-wide between the Romish Church and other persuasions, because that Church makes the persecution of heretics an article of faith ! When the members of other sects persecute, they do it in opposition to their principles ; for the grand rule of Protestants is liberty of the Scriptures and liberty of opinion ; but the Romish sect allows no such liberty, and regards freedom of opinion itself as a heresy to be persecuted unto the death.

I would no more trust a Presbyterian with the power to persecute than I would a papist, but for this one consideration. The Romish system has the terrible

pre-eminence of having made religious persecution a doctrine of the Church. There is no denying this ; it is an essential element of the Romish religion to persecute heretics, when it can be done. Here, then, is a mighty distinction between the Romanists and all other sects ; the Romanists persecute on principle, as a doctrine of the Church. There is all the difference between the occasional intolerance of other sects and the habitual intolerance of the Romanists that there is between an epidemic like the influenza, which sometimes proves fatal, and a contagious disease like the plague or yellow fever.

This, of course, is the reason why we are afraid of Romanism. It is an ox, that has been wont to gore. Its assumption of infallibility alone would inevitably lead to the compulsion and punishment of heretics. And in the same measure we are afraid of any other Church, that makes the same claim, takes the same exclusive ground, unchurches other communions, and gives them over to God's uncovenanted mercies. The uncovenanted mercies of God prove in the end, when the plague has reached its crisis, when the hard carbuncle is formed, to be the ferocity of human intolerance, the rack, the dungeon, the scaffold, the stake. The uncovenanted mercies of God are red and hot with the flames of human vengeance ; they are but a concealed form of the Papal thunder of the dark ages ; put the bolt into the hands of Ecclesiastics, and darkness, fire and storm hold a revelry ; the seven vials of the Apocalypse are well-nigh poured upon the nations. And if this claim of infallibility, and this denunciation of dissenters, and this unchurching exclusiveness, and this contempt of conventicles, and this assertion of the

Form above the Spirit, come to be united to an Establishment and thus invested with the power of the State, or having that power at command, to be used at pleasure, then farewell to the sacred possession of religious liberty ; then the air is filled with a storm of test acts and civil penalties ; then, in certain cases, dissenters, even in the nineteenth century, may seek in vain for a burial-place for the very bodies of their children ; then the theory of intolerance is boldly broached, and penalties in religious things are defended, and from religious tyranny it is but one step to civil despotism ; the ecclesiastics who put the crown of supremacy upon religious tyranny, do dig the grave and attend the funeral of both civil and religious freedom. The bridge is thrown up,

And with asphaltic slime, broad as the gate,  
Deep to the roots of hell, the gathered beach  
Is fastened,—and the mole immense wrought on.

#### EVILS OF AN ESTABLISHMENT.

I do not wish to go into the history of the Romish Church for proof of this. Read over the history of England, Protestant England, from the tyranny of Henry the Eighth to the Supremacy of Queen Victoria as Head of the Church and State. Read it in the Romish as well as the Protestant historians ; in Lingard and in Dodd, as well as in Turner and Neal and Hume and Fuller. Read it, and see in it the accursed fretting leprosy of an Establishment, as the consequence of installing one sect as the supreme religion of the State, its consequence in hypocrisy, arrogance, bitterness, contempt ; ambition, avarice, and luxury in the clergy ; persecution unto imprisonment and death,

of Nonconformists, Dissenters, Heretics, Romanists, all, who conscientiously please to stay out of the reigning Church and worship by themselves. I say it is POWER put into religious hands, put at the beck of a religious hierarchy, that hath done this; or, if no hierarchy, the barest Congregationalism will do the same. The Apostle John himself would at one time have burnt all Samaria, if he could have done it. Our argument then is first against the horrible *doctrine* of religious persecution, and against the Church that maintains and sanctions it, the Romish Church, by eminence above all others. Second, it is against such unchurching exclusiveness in any Church though not holding cruelty as a doctrine, but yet holding other Churches as dissenters, and therefore opening the way for such cruelty. And third, it is against such an Establishment, or possession of civil power in any Church, as may hold out the temptation to persecute, when occasion offers, either by rewards or penalties. An Establishment carries in it the venom of persecution, because it offers the poisoned cup of power to the lips of the clergy; and power over the conscience is what no man, or council, or state, on earth, ever yet could be trusted with. So far then we include all denominations, as Bishop Hughes has rightly done, in the blame of religious persecution. But mark you, there is an infinite difference between persecution as a doctrine, and persecution as an incident; between persecution as an article of the Church, and persecution as an occasional sin of passion. Persecution *belongs* to the Romish Church; though it has been resorted to, in turn, by every other Church, the Quakers only excepted, to their immortal honor. In the Romish Church there has been the *habit* of persecution for centuries; it is a chronic dis-



ease ; this is one of the lessons burned by the Papacy into the civilisation and Christianity of mankind for ages. The great seal of the Papacy ought to be the stake, the fire, and a burning saint ; and in point of fact a medal was recast at Rome in 1839 to commemorate the butchering of Protestants at the festival of St. Bartholomew. It is from the Romish Church that the lesson of persecution was derived and learned by Protestants ; a lesson occasionally practised by them, but by their teachers sanctioned and adopted as a religious theory. And it is by acts such as the recasting of this medal, and by other significant demonstrations, that the Papal Church does openly show to the world that she is still the same persecuting Church as ever, when persecution can be enacted with safety. It is by such acts and demonstrations as these, that the Papal Church sanctions the truth of her own portrait both in history and the Word of God, as "the Woman drunken with the blood of the Saints."

PROOF THAT RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION IS A DOCTRINE OF  
THE ROMISH CHURCH.

Now, I am not going to let this pass, though perfectly well known, under the seal of mere generalization. From confirmation strong as holy writ will I show to you that religious persecution is a doctrine of the Romish Church. I might give you the words of Pope upon Pope, and Council upon Council, excommunicating and condemning heretics, and giving them over to the secular arm to be punished. I take the last first, and find the general Council of Trent as late as the six-

teenth century, enjoining the extermination of heretics by the sword, the fire, the rope, and all other means, when it could be done with safety. Perhaps the acts of this council were an indication to the mind of Bishop Hughes, of that better state of civilisation and religion which would bless the world; that culmination of light and glory into which it would have advanced, had it not been for the unfortunate intervention of the Reformation. But I take what is better to prove my point than the decrees of Councils or the bulls of Popes. I take the oath, which all Roman Catholic bishops at their consecration are required to take, and which, as it is extant in the Roman Pontifical, set out by order of Pope Clement VIII., swears obedience "to the holy Roman Church, and to our lord the Pope, and to his successors;" and which has this tremendous sentence, "HERETICS, SCHISMATICS AND REBELS TO OUR SAID LORD, OR HIS FORESAID SUCCESSORS, I WILL, TO MY POWER, PERSECUTE AND OPPOSE." The whole oath may be found in the learned Dr. Barrow's Treatise on the Supremacy of the Pope, which book men have well done in republishing in this country.\* Now I do not want any other proof than this; I would not give a fig for volumes in

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\* The oath is as follows:

"I, N., elect of the Church of N., from henceforward will be faithful and obedient to St. Peter the Apostle, and to the holy Roman Church, and to our lord, the lord N. Pope N. and to his successors, canonically coming in. I will neither advise, consent, or do anything that they may lose life or member, or that their persons may be seized, or hands anywise laid upon them, or any injuries offered to them, under any pretence whatsoever. The counsel which they shall intrust me withal, by themselves, their messengers, or letters, I will not knowingly reveal to any to their prejudice. I will help them to defend and keep the Roman papacy, and the royalties of St. Peter, saving my order, against all men. The legate of the apostolic See, going and coming, I will honorably treat and help in his necessities. The rights, hon-

**addition. A Church that makes the ministers at its**

ors, privileges, and authority of the holy Roman Church, of our lord the Pope, and his foresaid successors, I will endeavor to preserve, defend, increase, and advance. I will not be in any counsel, action, or treaty, in which shall be plotted against our said lord, and the said Roman Church, anything to the hurt or prejudice of their persons, right, honor, state, or power; and if I shall know any such thing to be treated or agitated by any whatsoever, I will hinder it to my power; and as soon as I can will signify it to our said lord, or to some other, by whom it may come to his knowledge. The rules of the holy Fathers, the apostolic decrees, ordinances, or disposals, reservations, provisions, and mandates, I will observe with all my might, and cause to be observed by others. Heretics, schismatics, and rebels to our said lord, or his foresaid successors, I will to my power *persecute* and oppose. I will come to a council when I am called, unless I be hindered by a canonical impediment. I will by myself in person visit the threshold of the Apostles every three years; and give an account to our lord and his foresaid successors of all my pastoral office, and of all things anywise belonging to the state of my Church, to the discipline of my clergy and people, and lastly to the salvation of souls committed to my trust; and will in like manner humbly receive and diligently execute the apostolic commands. And if I be detained by a lawful impediment, I will perform all the things aforesaid *by a certain messenger* hereto specially impowered, a member of my chapter, or some other in ecclesiastical dignity, or else having a parsonage; or in default of these, by a priest of the diocese; or in default of one of the clergy [of the diocese], by some other secular or regular priest of approved integrity and religion, fully instructed in all things above-mentioned. And such impediment I will make out by lawful proofs to be transmitted by the foresaid messenger to the cardinal proponent of the holy Roman Church in the congregation of the sacred council. The possessions belonging to my table I will neither sell, nor give away, nor mortgage, nor grant anew in fee, nor anywise alienate, no, not even with the consent of the chapter of my Church, without consulting the Roman Pontiff. And if I shall make any alienation, I will thereby incur the penalties contained in a certain constitution put forth about this matter. So help me God and these holy Gospels of God."

"Such," remarks Barrow, "is the oath prescribed to bishops, the which is worth the most serious attention of all men, who would understand how miserably slavish the condition of the clergy is in that Church, and how inconsistent their obligation to the Pope is with their duty to their Prince."

altar swear that they will persecute, is by eminence THE persecuting Church of the world; and the only reason why she does not display that feature here, is because in this blessed country, our dear republic, she cannot, neither she nor any other Church. And the reason why she does not now display this feature in England, is not because the persecuting spirit has gone out of men's souls, but because, from the time of Henry VIII. downwards, the monarch has taken the Pope's supremacy to himself, and is a Pope in his own kingdom; and the State in alliance with the *Protestant* Church now chooses to do all the persecution. For a proof, both of the humiliating dependence of the Church upon the State in England, and yet of the persecuting propensities of the English Hierarchy, I refer you to the vigorous work of Sir Michael Foster on the scheme of Church power. And if I wished to send you to an unexceptionable witness for an independent sanction of the rule of persecution as the doctrine of the Romish Church, I need only name the great, the learned, the celebrated, the pious, the well-nigh worshipped St. Bernard, who held, in the most determined manner, "the utter inconsistency of any sort of toleration with the first principles of the papacy;" and who sternly argued "that schismatics and heretics, after resisting argument and persuasion, were, by the aid of the secular power, to be pursued to death, in whatever way might seem the most sure and safe."

SAMENESS OF ROMANISM FROM AGE TO AGE, AND THE  
RULE FOR INVESTIGATING ITS NATURE.

I think the preceding facts and reasonings have given sufficient answer to the question whether Romanism now is the same with Romanism in the Middle

**Ages.** The rules laid down by an acute and powerful writer for our investigation of the nature and spirit of the Romish Despotism are founded in truth, namely, that we are to take those writers, who have occupied high stations in the Church, and those times when the Church was in her prosperity, and enjoyed an unrestricted authority. You can no more judge the nature of the Papal Hierarchy by the writings or assertions of a dignitary born and educated in America, than you could determine the nature of a tiger by seeing the splendid creature as docile as a kitten at the feet of Herr Driesbach : you must meet it in a jungle, and whether in its native woods, or in any other woods, it is no matter. Undoubtedly, the genius of Romanism in this country is tamed ; let me rather say, in the words of the eloquent apostrophe of Curran to the freedom of Great Britain, it is destined, by touching the sacred soil of a free religious republic, to stand redeemed, regenerated, and disenthralled, with the tiger transformed to the lamb, the vulture to the dove. But as to the essential nature of Romanism in all times and countries, the words of that writer (the author of "Spiritual Despotism") to whom I have referred, are worth pondering. "The difference of style and feeling," he says, "occasioned by the Lutheran schism is very clearly perceptible in the Romanist writers of all classes ; for while the bold and intemperate are far more extravagant and impudent, than were their predecessors of the same stamp, the reasonable, the conciliatory, and the philosophic, labor with the utmost diligence and ingenuity to soften the features of the Romish tyranny, to excuse its intolerance, to recommend on general grounds its superstitions, and to bring it, as far as possible, into accordance with the Spirit of Christianity,

and with the feelings and usages of modern times. But as we are bound in fairness to reject the exaggerated Romanism of the one class of modern writers, so should we pass by, as unauthentic and spurious, the novel liberality, and the spirituality of the other. We do not ask Fenelon, or Pascal, or the Jansenists, or Dr. Doyle, or Mr. Butler, what Romanism is, any more than we put that question to certain infamous Spanish Jesuits of the seventeenth century : but turn to the Popes, and the authentic doctors of the middle ages. The principles avowed by these high authorities, and the practices founded upon these principles, are consistent one with another ; are necessary parts of the great ecclesiastical theory ; and are such as must, in every age, be professed and followed by the Romish Church, where she enjoys full liberty, and is not compelled to adapt herself to political necessities. If Protestantism were annihilated, and princes once more brought down to their place, as the obedient sons and champions of the Church, then this Church would be and must be the very same in spirit and in practice that it was in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. That which makes modern Popery more tolerable, and in some respects less pernicious to a people, than ancient Popery was, is precisely that admixture of better notions, which it has furtively obtained from Protestantism. But all such mitigations and corrections the consistent Romanist must regard as adulterations, and must wish to exclude and repel."

Here I would refer you to a series of significant questions bearing directly on the point before us, and to be found in a journal, which no man will suspect of hostility to Romanism, the *New York Churchman*. The passage I quote constitutes one of the most sen-

sible, judicious, pointed articles to be found in the paper.

"Of course we do not hold the modern adherents of Rome accountable for the sins of their fathers. All of us certainly may find enough in the history of the past to destroy our boasting, and to awaken the sentiments of humility and penitence. But it is fair to ask what sense have Romanists of these abuses, and what security against their recurrence? Is the system of indulgences restored to its primitive limits, or are they still dispensed by the Pope as a pretended means of abridging the punishments of the future life? Is the Pope content with the primacy which was once and might again be beneficent\* in its tendency, or is he accounted the bishop of bishops and lord of lords? Has the Church in any particular country, say in the United States, ultimate authority in matters not of faith, or is the ultimatum of differences still an appeal to Rome? Is the election of Bishops for American Sees confirmed in America or at Rome? Are the Scriptures acknowledged to be the Christian's BIRTHRIGHT which the clergy are in duty bound to keep before the faithful, or are they merely allowed to be read under favor? Are the laity allowed a voice in the choice of pastors and bishops? And since we have no union of Church and State, and consequently no check on the part of civil government against the aggression of a foreign spiritual power, it is important to ask whether the American laity are admitted to unite with the clergy in the control of temporalities, and in legislating on those matters (and of course those only) on which particular churches are competent to legislate, or whether all these matters are left exclusively to a clergy in but not of the United States, and responsible to a foreign Potentate?"

These questions are full of significance. The answer to them condemns the system of Romanism in every point, as a system of abuses, against the recurrence of which we have no security. This chapter of interrogatories furnishes a good close to our present argument. We have left three points as yet untouched.

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\* Which never was and never could be beneficent, except by God's prerogative of bringing good out of evil. The Papal Primacy was always evil, and almost only evil, continually. And it was always in direct contravention of the prohibition of our Blessed Lord, "Call no Man master on earth, for all ye are brethren."

In my next lecture I propose to dwell upon the disastrous influence of the mixture of civil and ecclesiastical power, in the governments of the middle ages, upon learning and literature. The body of the Canon Law will come under examination; and in this connection I shall show the influence of the Papacy and the Church in repressing all attempts after freedom. I shall show the reasons for the jealousy of the Romish Hierarchy against the Scriptures, and the tremendous consequences that would follow, if the Bible could be excluded from our schools, and kept in the iron chest of the priesthood. I shall endeavor to redeem my promise of looking upon the great faces of Chaucer and Dante. I shall also have a gaze at the greater countenance of that greatest enemy of the Romish despotism—MARTIN LUTHER.

## CONCLUSION.

And now I shall only add the mention of what, besides the disenthraling influence of our Republican freedom, is our only reliance for the change and regeneration of the Romish Church in this country—the descent of the Holy Spirit on people and priest. When that baptism by the Holy Spirit of God takes place, which every Church is to receive from Heaven, then will all the leaven of hierarchical despotism be cast out; then will oppression cease; then will the rights of the people be recognized and their privileges preserved; then will the Churches of Christ be one vast brotherhood; then will Ephraim no more envy Judah, nor Judah vex Ephraim; then will that unity of love be prevalent, which our blessed Lord requires, and without which a<sup>11</sup>



other unity is worthless ; then will there be, in every direction, the kindest charity and piety, but no pride ; then will Christians, as Paul requires, receive one another, but not to doubtful disputations, and all sects will be found vying with one another not to spread their own name, but the knowledge of the Saviour ; not to eject each other from the missionary field, but to fill the world with love and mercy.

We trust in God that this spirit shall prevail over every other, and when it does, then shall be the time when there shall be nothing to hurt or destroy in all God's holy mountain. Then his sacred watchmen shall see eye to eye ; and as he of one persuasion, in that far off region where the darkness struggles with the light, shall cry to another, Watchman ! what of the night ? the other shall answer, The night is past, and a morn of glory dawneth ! Yea, even now it spreads, it runneth as the light from heaven, it tips the mountain-tops with glory, it pours into the lowest vales its flood, it rushes, it bursts over all the earth ! Yea, this is the coming and kingdom of the Son of God ; this is the ineffable unity of the Church of Christ, a unity of light and love, peace on earth, good will to man glory to God in the highest.

# **HIERARCHICAL DESPOTISM.**

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HIERARCHICAL DESPOTISM.

THIRD LECTURE.

NATURE OF THE ARGUMENT.

THE fifth point to be taken up in our argument, is that of the opposition of the Church to the diffusion of knowledge and learning. Under this head comes the jealousy of the Romish hierarchy against the Scriptures. We shall first show the commencement of this opposition against learning, and then show the exclusion of the Bible as the climax of it. This survey will reveal the disastrous influence of the mixture of civil and ecclesiastical power in the governments of the Middle Ages, especially in the government of the Papacy, upon the interests of literature and science, as well as of religion. In dwelling upon the anti-republicanism of Popery, I shall make a sixth point, not included in the original division of the historical argument, but growing, as we shall see, directly out of the consideration of the jealousy of the Romish Church against the Scriptures.

V. We are to consider, then, the influence of the Romish Church, as a mixed government of civil and ecclesiastical power, upon literature, especially in the hostility of that Church against the Holy Scriptures. We take first the manner of its commencement amidst the early corruptions of Christianity.

PERSECUTION OF HERETICS AND PROHIBITION OF BOOKS
COMMENCING TOGETHER.

The empire of superstition is founded upon ignorance and darkness. If, then, there be a superstitious religion in the world, there will be along with it in the mind of its votaries, and especially in the soul of its hierarchy, an instinctive presentiment against the spread of knowledge, a sure conviction that light is not good for despotism. Accordingly, the moment the corruptions of Christianity had arrived at that point, where they were so startling that concealment became necessary, and especially at that point where superstition instead of religion became the prominent and ruling characteristic, then and there that instinct against light and knowledge began to manifest itself. It had been of necessity preceded by a great neglect of knowledge, and great prevailing ignorance; a crisis of disease in the mental eyesight had arrived, in which the light had become painful to be borne, and now the windows must be darkened and the light shut out. It is remarkable that the persecution of heretics, and the prohibition of books, commence about the same period; the stifling of heresy by force, and the suppression of knowledge, begin together. About the year 384 Priscilian was put to death for alleged heretical opinions.

About the same time Jovinian, who wrote in favor of marriage and social life against monks and celibacy, was seized, whipped, and banished to a rock on the coast of Illyria. This was under the Emperor Honorius; one of the earliest instances of the use of the temporal by the ecclesiastical power. The Church of Rome, at this early period, before she had become the Church universal, was foremost in the extinction of reason and true Christianity. The opinions of Jovinian were also formally condemned in the year 390, by a Council held under St. Ambrose at Milan. And now, mark you, we have in the Council of Carthage, held in the year 398, the first instance in the history of the Church, of a canon framed, forbidding the study of secular books by bishops, and of heretical books, except by necessity. This is well marked as a crisis in the history of Christian literature. It indicated the activity of the instinct of superstition against reason. For, what are heretical books? Why, in the age of superstition, such books as throw light on the dark and increasing corruptions of Christianity are heretical; such books as those of Jovinian against monkery, and Vigilantius against the worship of martyrs and their tombstones. In such an age, a canon against heretical books is a canon against light, purity, freedom. And in proportion as superstition, darkness, despotism, are on the increase, liberty and light become more marked and distinguished as heresy, because corruption and bondage become the reigning religion. Therefore most admirably and truly says Jortin, "If in the middle and lower ages of the Church you want to find men, who had the fewest dangerous errors, you must seek them not amongst the *Catholics*, but amongst the *heretics*."

At this time and afterwards, the tombstones of the martyrs, and the skulls, teeth, shoulder-bones and petrified breath of saints, with ten thousand anomalous relics, began to be the school-books of the clergy and the common people. They were for a season the Scriptures of the world; and in such literature the most profoundly ignorant and vicious were the aptest scholars. In the year 529 an edict of the Emperor Justinian closed the schools of Athens, just at the period when, having done all the evil they could in the corruption of Christianity, they might possibly have begun to do good in the preservation of something like learning, amidst the tide of that corruption. And now, when the northern barbarians poured upon the empire, the dignitaries of the Church, finding that they possessed an unbounded fund of superstitious reverence for the priesthood, and knowing from experience that ignorance and darkness are the parents of superstition and credulity, found it for the interest of the Church to perpetuate the blindness and prejudice of the multitude. The staple of the public reading being books of martyrs and lives of the saints, stuffed to the full with monstrous legends and miracles, the world continued to recede farther and farther from the light, and to become more and more afraid of it. From the beginning of the ninth century, it was the custom of the Popes to forbid men to read heretical books, and also to condemn such books to the flames. But for many centuries there was as little need, almost, of any direct canons against the spread of knowledge, as there would be at midnight, of a law that the sun shall not shine between the hours of twelve and two o'clock.

ACTIVE OPPOSITION AGAINST SCRIPTURAL KNOWLEDGE.

As soon as the Reformation began to dawn, then the watch-dog of superstition began to bark, then the instinctive presentiment of danger from the approach of knowledge grew active. Then Pope Martin the Fifth condemned and excommunicated the Wickliffites and Hussites, and in England the Romish Church forbade the reading of any of Wickliffe's tracts, and the translation of any portion of the Scriptures, as also the reading of such translation. Next, Pope Leo the Tenth prohibited the reading of all the books of Luther under pain of excommunication, and after that, other Popes excommunicated all who should read the books of heretics. You will remember that all this while both the Scriptures and the services of the Church were in an unknown tongue; the power of Rome was therefore safe from any evil on that score. In the eleventh century, Pope Gregory the Seventh made a decree declaring that many evils and heresies had sprung from the people being suffered to understand the Romish worship, and that God does not wish men, and especially ignorant men, to understand, and that no people should be permitted to use any language in the worship of God that they do understand. The language of the Pope is as follows: "In our frequent meditations upon the holy Scriptures, we have discovered that it has been and still is pleasing to Almighty God, that his sacred worship should be performed in an unknown language, in order that the whole world, and especially the most simple, may not be able to understand it. In a known language the service would soon

excite contempt and disgust, or it would happen that the common people, by repeating so often that which they could not comprehend, would fall into many great errors, from which it would be difficult to withdraw the heart of man."

THE POLICY OF CONCEALMENT.

It might seem almost incredible that a man in his senses could utter such sentiments; but the truth is, that this rule of Pope Gregory is the rule of the Romish Church. I have been personally in almost all Roman Catholic countries, and attended the Romish service, and I do not remember that I have ever seen the service performed in a language that the people could understand. Now it could not be made more manifest than by these facts, that the policy of concealment is the policy of the Romish Church; it would not be possible for language to render this more evident; it stands out in every part of her history. And this policy, it is evident, is the foundation of her power; by it alone was she able, so long and so unquestioned, to maintain the establishment of her abuses. By keeping all knowledge in her own hands, and especially all knowledge of divine things, she kept an inexhaustible material and spring of power over the common people. For she could palm upon them anything she pleased in the shape of religion, and could give to rescripts that ministered solely to her own aggrandizement and the consolidation of her own despotism, the aspect of devotion and the authority of the voice of God. Her empire could not be shaken so long as the Scriptures were kept from the people, and all sacred services were in an unknown tongue.

The maxim of Lord Bacon, that knowledge is power, never received a more tremendous illustration and realization, than in the despotism of the Romish Priesthood over mankind. It would have been eternal, could they have still kept all divine knowledge to themselves, to give it to the people only in such portions as suited their own purposes. You cannot but see that such dominion affords to priestcraft unlimited scope and control.

EXCOMMUNICATED BOOKS, MUTILATED EDITIONS, AND EXFURGATORIAL INDEXES.

A great step in the prohibition of learning, after, in the dawn of the Reformation, such steps became necessary, was the preparation of catalogues by the Inquisition of such books as were prohibited to be read. King Philip of Spain, in the year 1558, caused that Catalogue, made more ample, to be printed. Paul the Fourth put into that catalogue, among other books, the annotations of Erasmus on the New Testament. Sixty-two printers were also named, all whose books were prohibited under pain of excommunication. But in addition to all this, an expedient was adopted, which more than anything else proved effectual for the purpose of concealing the truth and baffling the light, which was, not that merely of suppression and prohibition, but, where it was impossible, by reason of the great currency of certain works, to suppress them, that of publishing a mutilated and adulterated edition of them. These editions, which they had the policy to render the best extant in their execution, being taken for genuine, and as such circulated, were copied by

other printers, and thus these corruptions became so widely extended, that it was well nigh impossible to get at the truth. For they interpolated what would suit their purposes, as well as expunged what did not; and though there was an *Index Expurgatorius* published at Rome in the year 1607, containing specifications and condemnations of such passages as had been blotted out, yet that index being now extremely rare, it is rendered very difficult to ascertain the real sentiments of many old authors of great name, both ecclesiastics and historians; and hence it may often happen that in controversies with the Romanists they may seem to gain a victory on certain points, because the books of reference are so miserably garbled, that the truth is in no man's hands. So late as the year 1595, Pope Clement the Eighth published a decree that all the books of Catholic authors written since the year 1515, should be corrected, not only by retracting what is not conformable to the doctrine of Rome, but also by adding what may be judged proper by the correctors. The reason for taking the year 1515 is, that many Roman Catholic authors after that period, moved by the light poured in through the books of Luther, had acknowledged some corruptions and iniquities in the discipline and court of Rome, which it did not suit the policy of that court to admit as concessions in favor of the Reformation. So the Pope published his decree of expurgation and correction. Moreover, these revisals of books were not confined to religion, but extended to general literature, and the Pope also claimed the exclusive privilege both of prohibiting and licensing for the press in all countries of Christendom acknowledging his authority.

Now if to all this be added the Pope's Bull in this nineteenth century against Bible Societies, and against the liberty of opinion, we shall have a complete running comment on the declaration of Bishop Hughes that it is not the genius of the Romish Church to conceal anything of her history or her doctrines. Possibly the plan of concealment adopted by that Church for centuries is an historical accident, similar to the accident of the mixture of temporal and spiritual power in the Church of Rome, for fifteen hundred years. It is impossible not to connect with the expurgating process which I have noted, adopted by the Popes, the same process in miniature introduced under the influence of Romanism into the Schools in this city. In the sixteenth century it was a process adopted in regard to ponderous tomes and great authors ; in this present century, and in our own country, it works upon the school-books of our children to garble and expurgate them, on precisely the same plan of excluding from the light everything that could be construed to bear against the doctrine, discipline, practice and reputation of the Church of Rome. In the 16th century it worked upon huge folios ; in the nineteenth century it launches a crusade of printer's ink and paste brushes against heretic primers and offending a, b, c's.

STEPS OF THE ROMISH HOSTILITY AGAINST THE SCRIPTURES.

There is a still more reprehensible effort, not only to dephlogisticate our school-books, but to exclude the Bible itself from our schools, which must be charged directly to the allied influences of Romanism and Infidelity. To get the Word of God out of our schools would be to

do something towards the restoration, in the nineteenth century, of the literature of the Middle Ages. The steps of this hostility against the Word of God, and the reasons for it, are of such immediate connection with the question of the influence of the mixture of civil and ecclesiastical power upon literature in general, that I am of necessity compelled to dwell somewhat at length upon them. Accordingly, I find it stated, as the first instance of distinct prohibition of the Scriptures, that the Council of Toulouse, in 1229, strictly prohibit the laity from possessing the books either of the Old or New Testament in their vernacular tongue. Doubtless, such prohibition would have been issued earlier, if translations had been earlier commenced, with heresies against the Papacy founded thereupon. The Council of Trent, in the sixteenth century, declared that if the Holy Bible were translated into the vulgar tongue, and indiscriminately allowed to every one, the temerity of men would cause more evil than good to arise from it. And they declared that if any one should have the presumption to read or possess the Scriptures, without written permission of bishops or inquisitors, he should not receive absolution, until he should have first delivered up such Bible to the ordinary. The same council declared that the traditions of the Romish Church were to be received with equal reverence as the sacred Scriptures, and that he who despised them should be accursed. Now the traditions of the Church were possessed by the people in their vulgar tongue, and so the traditions of the Church were in effect the people's Bible. This was a great step towards annihilating the influence of the sacred Scriptures; *making the Word of God of none*

effect through human tradition. Pope Paul the Fifth, in a commentary on one of the works of Fulgentius, declared that standing too much upon the inspired Scriptures, if it were generally done, would certainly ruin the Catholic faith. The Papal Bishops at Bononia, after the commencement of the Reformation, advised that "by all means as little of the gospel as might be, especially in the vulgar tongue, should be read to the people, and that that little which is in the Mass ought to be sufficient ; neither should it be permitted to any mortal to read more. For so long as men were contented with that little, all things went well with them ; but quite otherwise since more was commonly read. That, in short, the Scripture is that book which, above all others, hath raised those tempests and whirlwinds, with which we were almost carried away. And, in truth, if any one diligently considers it, and compares it with what is done in our Church, he will find them very contrary to each other, and our doctrine to be not only very different from it, but repugnant to it." "As to the books which are distributed by the Bible Society," say the Irish Papal Bishops to their clergy and people, "under the name of Bibles or Testaments, as they treat of religion, and are not sanctioned by us, or by any competent authority in the Catholic Church, the use, the perusal, the reading, or retaining of them, is entirely, and without any exception, prohibited to you."

REASONS FOR THIS HOSTILITY.—FIRST REASON.

The reasons for this hostility of the Romish Church against the Scriptures grow directly out of the nature of the Romish Hierarchical Despotism. The Scrip-

tures are opposed to the bondage of form, and to a compulsory uniformity. The object of the Word of God is the life of God in the soul of man. Form, *as it springs from that Word*, helps, nourishes, increases, and develops in beauty, that life. But form, apart from that Word, and not the development of that life, becomes, if insisted on, idolatry and despotism. If form is the natural expression of that Word, the expression and development of that life, it is good; and in proportion as the Word prevails, and the life which follows it, the form which is its natural product will prevail also. But form, as it springs from the Word and the life, is elastic and flexible, not rigid and monotonous. It is to the soul as a coat of flexible mail to the body, protecting and sustaining it, but bending with every movement. It is not as a Procrustes' bed, on which every man must be broken. Form, as it springs from the Word and the Life, is like the variety in the life of nature; you have the oak for one climate, and the palm-tree for another; to insist that everywhere there should be but one form, or a prodigious, massive, tyrannic unity of the Church in one form, is as absurd in the kingdom of grace, as it would be in the kingdom of nature, if you attempted to reduce every development of life to the form of one of its productions.

There is one way in which you may produce uniformity; it is by freezing. When you freeze water, you may cut it, you may cool everything else with it, you may shape it into statues, and you may worship them, if you will, as beautiful as they are cold. But while the water of life *flows*, it will flow *freely*. The most disastrous consequences must result from aiming to produce a dead, despotic, mechanical uniformity. If

life be thus shut in, it will sooner or later burst its prison walls in pieces. We are told by chemists that salts in crystallizing frequently enclose mechanically, within their texture, particles of water, by the expansion of which, when heated, the salt is burst with a crackling noise into smaller fragments. This phenomenon is known by the name of *decrepitation*. Now, a despotic establishment, that would crystallize the whole world into its own form, or otherwise would allow the world no form of life at all, is sure, some day, to *decrepitate*. When the Word of God, the water of life, gets into it, as it did in the time of Luther, it inevitably bursts in pieces.

SECOND REASON.

Next to this despotic bondage of form, the system of Romanism is a despotic bondage of opinion, which the Word of God opposes. The Word of God contains the elements of individual freedom. It takes the conscience into God's keeping; and when this is done with any man, or any body of men, there is an end to bondage. There is no more room for Ecclesiastical or Political Despotism. Putting the conscience into God's keeping, you have put an element into the soul that will heave a despotic society like an earthquake. You have taken away from Despotism, civil and ecclesiastical, its place to stand upon, and the lever of its power. You have disarmed Superstition, and broken her terrific wand. Putting the conscience into God's keeping, bringing it under the power of God's Word, you at once enlighten it as to Right and Wrong, you give it an instinctive knowledge of the lines where duty to God and obedience to man clash, and the indi-

vidual becomes an immortal, independent being, God his only master ! The great reason, therefore, why the Church of Rome proscribes and puts the Word of God under an interdict, is because it releases the human mind from bondage. Its perusal, the Romanists say, produces heresies, and individual scriptural opinions, in the view of Rome, are heresies. And the Church of Rome has always known how to manage and baptize every kind of heresy, but that produced by the Word of God. If a restless mind arose, fanatical, energetic, ungovernable, burning with the fires of reform and change, all that need be done was to canonize its zeal, to put the great seal of the Church upon it, and then let the comet go, no matter if it drew after it the third part of heaven. St. Francis and St. Dominic shed their baleful fires in the service of the Church, for theirs was a zeal stamped with the Church's infallibility. But if a mind became imbued with the fire of divine truth, there was no controlling it; opinions formed in the study of God's Word would not take the seal of the Holy See; and such minds, being in no possible way to be worked into the system, must be cast out of it, as living stones, dangerous in an Idol's Temple, and therefore to be burned and ground to powder. The Romish Church would have done thus with Wickliffe and Luther, had not God protected them; or otherwise, had not their heretical opinions grown out of the Word of God, threatening to *decrepitate* the whole despotic hierarchy, the Romish Church would have disposed of Wickliffe and Luther by just canonizing them, and letting them flame away in their eccentric orbits, as new incarnate metempsychoses of the spirits of St. Francis and St. Dominic.

THIRD REASON.

The system of Romanism is a great religious monopoly. The whole trade in religion is in the power of the Priests. No man is permitted to set up for himself, or to visit any other market. The articles he shall traffic in must be marked by the Church, or they are contraband. From the Word of God he must not take but just what the Church teaches him. If he come to the Word of God asking for bread, and the Church offer him a stone, he must take it; if he come for a fish, and the Church give him a serpent, it is all one; if he ask for an egg, and the Church offer him a scorpion, he must take it, believing it to be an egg. He must take tradition as of equal value with inspired texts; and of such things it may be said, he that eateth of their eggs dieth, and that which is crushed breaketh out into a viper.

But the Word of God breaks down all such monopolies. Its own institutions are the monopolies of no particular Church, and it contains within itself the security of the forms and institutions, which it does itself ordain, in the interpenetration and imbuing of the conscience with the very same living spirit, out of which those institutions grow. Otherwise, it does not desire their establishment. It would not, if it could, bring all men into a dead uniformity of professed obedience without the spirit. It lays no penalties; it is a voluntary system. If a man's conscience is imbued with its divine spirit, the man will obey it; if not, it uses no compulsion, binds no man to the stake, makes no man answerable to an inquisition, applies no racks

to the joints, to break the soul through the dislocation of the bones ; nor does it, on the other hand, annex civil rewards or sinecures as the price of Church membership, or of obedience to the Established Hierarchy. Its kingdom is not of this world.

FOURTH REASON.

The Word of God teaches a man his individual worth, and makes him feel his individual responsibility. It teaches him that he belongs not to man, nor to a system, nor to a king, nor to a state, nor to a hierarchy, but to God. It teaches him to call no man master on earth. It teaches him that his salvation is in no human hands but his own, and that to his own master, Christ, he standeth or falleth. It teaches him the personal and individual conditions of salvation, faith in the Lord Jesus, and repentance towards God, and that no priest and no form can save him. The system of Romanism denies a part of this, and conceals the rest. It is a system of unqualified submission, not to God, but man. It is a system merging the individual in the mass, combining with the despotism of States and Monarchies to deprive men of individual freedom, and preparing them to be themselves trampled on, or to be used as instruments in beating down the liberties of others.

FIFTH REASON.

A great cause of the opposition of Romanism to the Word of God is to be found in the delineation and limitation contained in that Word of the character and functions of the Christian ministry. The system of Romanism has perverted that ministry from the cha-

racter of a ministry of the Bread of Life, the Word of God, to the soul, into that of a priesthood of ordinances and forms. This perversion the Word of God opposes, bringing back the ministry to its true character and work. The Word of God secures to the ministry that honor which God puts upon it, but preserves it from that strife after aggrandizement which he forbids it. Nowhere will the Christian ministry be better known appreciated, loved and powerful, than where the Word of God is universally and thoroughly known and obeyed ; but where this is the case, there the danger of a priestly despotism is removed, because there will be so clear a knowledge of the functions of the ministry, as will prevent any overstepping of them, and so instant and instinctive a perception of inconsistency in the ministry, as will keep evil in check. Hence, a Priesthood that wish to be despotic and supreme, will keep the knowledge of the Word of God as much as possible to themselves, because that Word so clearly defines and limits their authority. Where the Word of God is universally known, by people as well as Priests, then there is much less danger of priestly domination.

**PRIESTCRAFT COMES FROM IGNORANCE AND NEGLECT OF
GOD'S WORD.**

In all ages infidels have talked much against Priestcraft ; and they have attacked the Word of God, as if, could they only get rid of that, Priestcraft would be at an end ; whereas, the Word of God, and the universal knowledge of that Word, is the greatest safeguard against Priestcraft that can be conceived of. Nay, it

is our only safeguard, for where there is not a revelation from God, there will be a pretence to it; where there is not a revelation from God, there will be a revelation from the Devil. The greatest amount of Priestcraft has always been where there was either no revelation, or where the Word of God was concealed, or withdrawn out of notice. Where this has been the case, the Priests have had it all to themselves. They have had full scope either to pretend to a new revelation, to alter the old one, or to add to it at their pleasure; in short, to affix the Divine sanction to whatsoever of their doings they pleased. The old Hebrews were never more completely under the tyranny of a priesthood, than when the Word of God was utterly hidden or disregarded, so that scarce a single copy was left in existence. They had then a Priesthood more despotic and sanguinary than that of the Druids; a priesthood which brought their kings under its power, made their sons and daughters to pass through the fire unto Moloch, and bound and sacrificed soul and body in the superstitions of demons. Just so, the Egyptian Priesthood owed the maintenance of their awful power over the people to the pretended possession and command of a secret sacred knowledge, which, whether it were recorded in books, or preserved in unwritten traditions, so long as it was in possession of the priests only, and could be kept from the people, so long the Priests could, as they chose, keep the people in thralldom, and wield over them an unlimited, unquestioned authority.

And just so, since the Christian Dispensation, the times when the world has been in the most slavish bondage to Priestcraft have been the times when the

knowledge of the Word of God has gone most completely out of existence. The greatest ignorance, the greatest servitude, the greatest superstition, the greatest vice, the greatest misery, have prevailed in those periods when the light of Divine Truth was shut most completely from the people. What are called the Dark Ages, were simply the period of the world's deepest midnight in the occultation of the Word of God, the burying of it beneath the power of Priests and ordinances, and in times somewhat later, beneath the solemn shadow of magnificent cathedrals. The greatest priestly despotism, therefore, I say again, is not that where there is no revelation, but where the existing revelation is kept from the knowledge of all but the Priests themselves, so that under its pretended sanction they may make what laws they please for others, and lay what restrictions they please upon themselves. Just so, the most perfect civil despotism in the world would not be that where there is no constitution, but that where a constitution, the existence of which is admitted, is kept hidden from the people, and open to the knowledge and construction only of the rulers. Plainly, because in such a case the rulers can give the pretended sanction of the constitution to whatever freaks of despotism they may choose to enact.

One of the greatest safeguards against a despotism in these United States, and against abuses in the government, would be the perfect knowledge of the constitution by all the people, a perfect acquaintance with all its provisions, with all their own privileges guaranteed by it, and with all the powers of the government, in all their extent and limits, so as to leave just

as little as possible to be defined by the rulers or the judges, and no prerogatives so uncertain as to be subject to definition by those who exercise them, or given up to the explanation of the powers that be. The liberty of the people is gone, as soon as the constitution is so hidden from them, or so retained in the knowledge of the government only, as that those who administer it may go beyond its authority, and yet successfully pretend the sanction of that authority. Let this once be the case, and opinion, property, and life itself, are no longer safe from governmental usurpation. There is always danger that men in power will always be tyrants, so far as they can be. Hence it were well, if the Constitution of the United States were made a school-book, as well as the Bible, which is the constitution of our religious liberty and happiness; for the knowledge of the first tends to preserve us from the encroachments of our civil rulers, as the knowledge of the other from the tyranny of spiritual guides. Just as it is with the knowledge of the Constitution, it is with the knowledge of the Bible. Conceal that from the people, and you give unlimited power to the Priests; you make inevitably an Ecclesiastical Despotism; you make it the worse tyranny a thousand times, because, in your ignorance of the Bible, its usurpations can pretend to the sanctions of the Bible; and when you add to this the indefinable, invisible, mysterious, omnipotent sanction of the traditions of an infallible Church, you have the most tremendous despotism that can possibly be conceived. Your Priests may mould the people like wax, for they have the power of superstition to work by; since the sense of religion and the sanctions of a

revelation always pass into superstition, so soon as the knowledge of that revelation is taken away.

IGNORANCE THE MOTHER OF SUPERSTITION.

It has been coined as one of the great lies of Infidelity and Atheism, that Ignorance is the Mother of Devotion. The truth is, that Ignorance is the Mother of Superstition, and where there is not an intelligent devotion, founded on the people's acquaintance with the Word of God, there will always be an immeasurable fund of superstition passed over to the power of the Priests for them to work upon at their pleasure. This is the secret of the illimitable despotism, which the Romish Priests have always exerted over their subjects. It can be maintained only by keeping their subjects in profound ignorance of God's Word. Hence their hostility against the Scriptures. While the Word of God is concealed, they can fill the spiritual world with whatever shapes of terror they please to evoke from its darkness to the affrighted conscience. They let down the curtains of their own traditions over the nature of that spiritual world as God has revealed it, and of our duties in regard to it, and then filling that curtain with curious and awful paintings addressed to the superstitious vision of ignorant minds, they have lighted up behind it the fires of their own kindling, to terrify and subdue the world by the moving phantasmagoria of shapes which the genius of superstition has invented. They have turned out from the temple of God the beautiful and winning forms of religious truth, and have set in play the whole machinery against which the prophetic apostle so early

warned the Church under the titles of voluntary humilities, and worshipping of angels, seducing spirits, and doctrines of devils. Many times in the world's history has the world's superstitious vision been crowded with such supernatural terrors. The world's Priests have been the world's Magicians, with all the shoals and armies of evil spirits and dark miracles at their command. But when the Word of God rises on the world's darkness, then the air is freed from those shapes, that in the midnight of the mind have brooded at the altar, and watched at men's doorposts, and weighed like death upon the world's intellect. In the language of Milton, describing the conquest of the demons by the Babe of Bethlehem,

The flocking shadows pale
Troop to th' infernal jail;
Each fetter'd ghost slips to his several grave.

So, when the Word of God broke upon the world in the Reformation, there was a renewal of that exorcism of devils, which took place at the coming of Christ, from Pagan oracles and altars. The secrets of Popish superstition were unveiled, and the Flamens or Priests of Romanism trembled in the midst of services as quaint and unchristian as those of Paganism itself.

The oracles are dumb,
No voice or hideous hum
Runs through the arched roof in words deceiving.
Apollo from his shrine,
Can no more divine,
With hollow shriek the steep of Delphos leaving,
No nightly trance, or breathed spell,
Inspires the pale-eyed priest from the prophetic cell.

In consecrated earth,
And on the holy hearth,
The Lars and Lemures moan with midnight plaint;
In urns and altars round
A drear and dying sound
Affrights the Flamens at their service quaint;
And the chill marble seems to sweat,
While each peculiar power foregoes his wonted seat.

Over a great part of the Christian world there was such a dispossession of the dark genii of Romanism out of their haunts, when the Bible was reinstated on its throne in men's hearts and minds, as at the Reformation. In the new worship of traditions, temples and ordinances, now so rife in some directions, these exorcised spirits seem to be stealthily trooping back to their abodes. Nor is it an easy matter for such a system, or for those who serve under and uphold such a system, to relinquish the wielding of so tremendous a power as it has exercised, or to lay bare the secrets by which it is maintained. To the light of God's Word they will not come, lest their deeds should be made manifest, that they are not wrought in God.

UNDENIABLENESS OF THE FACT OF ROMISH OPPOSITION TO
THE HOLY SCRIPTURES.

In regard to the characteristic features of Romanism in past times, I am speaking the language of authentic, undeniable, universal history; and in regard to what Romanism now is, in the countries that have been longest under its sway, I speak not only from history and the records of others, but from my own personal observation and experience. Opposition to the Word

of God always has been, and now is, a marked characteristic of Romanism, the world over. It has never been concealed, and it is only in Protestant countries, and out of a compelled regard to Protestant public opinion, that Romanism has ever pretended to any willingness whatever to give the Scriptures to the people. The canons of the Church are against it, and the present manifestations of Romanism speak the same opposition. When Mr. Borrow was distributing the Bible in Spain, he was imprisoned, and threatened with death; and the prime minister of the kingdom told him distinctly that the Church forbade the circulation of the Scriptures. I had myself some little personal experience in Spain, at the same time when Mr. Borrow was there, of the hostility of the Romish clergy against the Bible for the people. In our own country there has been something of the same demonstration; nor can the genuine system of Romanism any better stand against the Bible in this country, than it can anywhere else. Assuredly, the burning of two hundred Bibles in the State of New York tells the same story that an *Auto da fê* for the Scriptures tells in Spain or Asia Minor.

NATURE OF THE "DOUAY VERSION."

But perhaps you will say that in this country and in England, the laity of the Romish Church are permitted the use of the Scriptures in their vernacular tongue. Three points are to be remarked in regard to this. First, it is only under favor of a license from the priest that they are thus permitted to peruse the Scriptures, and not as the Christian's BIRTHRIGHT. Second, the Bible which they use is not a translation from the ori-

ginal Greek and Hebrew Scriptures, but the translation of a translation, a translation from the Latin Vulgate. Third, by the addition of the Apocrypha, together with certain wrong translations, and Romish commentaries throughout, the Scriptures so circulated are made to interweave into their texture, with the most subtle ingenuity, some of the greatest errors on which the Romish system is grounded. What God intended as the medicine of the soul becomes its poison, and the Saviour's words are realized, "Ye have made the Word of God of none effect by your tradition."

The divine commandment of *repentance*, for example, a work which, rightly performed, destroys the whole Romish system of merits, is changed into the perversion to *do penance*. "And I say," remarked Dr. Bacon, "in the face of every man who understands the Greek alphabet, that the Papist, when he thus translates the New Testament command of repentance, *knows* that he falsifies the Word of God. He knows, if he knows the simplest elements of the language in which it was written, that it does not mean *do penance* any more than it means the greatest absurdity that could be put upon the sacred pages." And yet this is one of the poisonous substitutes it proposes to the soul burdened with the inquiry, "What must I do to be saved?" Again, it translates the 21st verse of the 11th chapter of Hebrews, to assert that Jacob, when he was dying, *adored the top of his rod*, and out of this blasphemous perversion it gathers a sanction for the whole usage of the Romish Church in the idolatrous worship of images and relics. Thus, when the children of that system ask for bread, it gives them a stone, and when they would have meat, it offers them scorpions and serpents.

THE SAME OPPOSITION ALL THE WORLD OVER.

Now I might pass in survey, did time permit, the various Roman Catholic countries in the world, and demonstrate the present hostility of Romanism to God's Word in every one of them; and I might show you in consequence the disastrous results to the liberty and happiness of the people in the exclusion of God's Word from their education, from their families, from their firesides, from their public and private existence. The mind of nations, as of individuals, withers and passes into bondage when deprived of the invigorating aliment of Divine Truth. In the Old World I have seen this, as plainly as ever I beheld a building in ruins. It would take many an evening to trace the hostility to God's Word, the profound ignorance of it, and the consequent degradation and misery resulting, in Spain, in Italy, in Malta, in Sicily, in Portugal, in Greece, in Asia Minor, in Ireland, in South America. So successful and so disastrous has been the long-continued opposition of Romanism to the Scriptures, that the very conscience of the people has been suborned in its service, and seared against them. Romanism has succeeded in making it a matter of conscience with the people not to read the Bible. It would be a terrible revelation of the power and wickedness of this Mystery of Iniquity, if you could see in what multitudes of minds, trembling under the despotism of the Church, the ordinary perusal of the Scriptures has come to be considered a mark of heresy, and an act of impiety!

THE BIBLE IN SCHOOLS.

Here belongs some additional notice of the attempted exclusion of the Bible from the public schools in this city. In spite of the admirable report of the School Commissioners in answer to the absurd charge that the Bible, as a school-book, is sectarian (the plea under which the Romanists would have excluded it), there are still several large public schools in this city into which the Bible is not permitted to enter, and that, in some cases, notwithstanding the instructions and recommendations of the Board of Commissioners to the contrary. We hope this banishment of the Scriptures will no longer in any case be suffered. The Roman Catholics may banish it as sternly as they please from their own schools and families; they are at perfect liberty so to do; but let it not, in any case whatever, out of regard to their hostility against it, be excluded from the public school system of the city. It would be a shame to the name of Protestant. What, it may be asked, is to make us freer, better, happier than the rest of the world, if it be not the Word of God? What shall raise us above other nations, if it be not a baptism into that Word, an engirding of our souls with its panoply, a surrounding of our institutions with its atmosphere of light? What, all the world over, is the cause of the ignorance, degradation, and misery marking those countries, which, when the light of Reformation raised Protestant nations to liberty and happiness, remained beneath the system of the Papal Despotism? It is the absence of the Word of God, and the presence, in its stead, and the power, and the slavery, of debasing mummeries and superstitions; a bondage to rites, made to constitute, at

the will of the Priest, the only channels of Salvation ; an education of intellectual servitude, without one element of spiritual freedom in God's word mingled with it.

The Bible is beyond all controversy the best book of education in the world. It is the best book for the formation of children's minds, the best book for their acquisition and preservation of a pure idiomatic style in their native language, the best book to promote and secure the purposes of family government, the best book to make our children enlightened and good citizens of the republic, the best book, in fine, to preserve them from all evil, and train them up in all good. A powerful volume might be written on its excellence as a school-book, and on the importance of still keeping it, where our forefathers laid it, as the corner stone of our invaluable system of public education. If you take it away, the system not only becomes worthless, but absolutely pernicious. Imbue a single rising generation with the various knowledges of our day, and leave out the knowledge and the fear of God in his Word, and you have already made broad provision for your country's ruin. You have gathered fuel of ambition and irreligion, which any bold mind may set fire to. If Lord Bacon could talk of knowledge alone, without the mingling of God's truth and love in it, as being a dangerous and pernicious aliment to older minds, much more is it dangerous and hurtful to the minds of children. Our education needs a religious element ; for it is not education alone that will save us, but will merely train a skilful race of gladiators for the arena of political strife. The only source of that element is the Word of God. And if you take the Word of God from your common schools, you are teaching infidelity and practical athe-

ism to the whole nation. You are filling the mind with elements, that, without the safeguard of Divine Truth, are sure to become fiery, bitter, and poisonous.

I have spoken of the Bible as a model of style ; it is pure, native, uncorrupted, idiomatic English. It is the best preservation of our language in all our literature. It has most of the old, honest, simple, vigorous, expressive Saxon, which is the main-body of the excellence of our language. Amidst all the varying artificial fashions of the day, it is invaluable to be kept as a standard before the mind. Every one knows the influence of a constant daily model. There is nothing more to be relied upon for preserving our language from corruption, than a daily familiarity with its development in the Scriptures. I speak, of course, of our common, incomparable, English translation ; the best translation of the Scriptures, doubtless, in the whole world. Keep the minds of our children familiar with that, and the good old Saxon elements of thought and language will characterize their development.

In its general influence over the minds of our children and over the whole business of education, the Bible in our schools is invaluable. It is as a shower of the dews of divine grace and truth distilling into the susceptible minds of the young in the opening of each day, before the tender leaflets and petals of the flower have been exposed to other influences. It is a constant, habitual nourishment, an uninterrupted, systematic influence, as steady, as cheerful, as healthful as the light of the sun. It is a daily, unobtrusive imbuing of the mind with the sweet lessons of the Bible, to which the whole school reverently attend. In this way a great many children are blessed with the privilege of listening

daily to the Word of God, who, alas, would never hear it read in the family ; and this is one of the most important reasons for maintaining it. It brings the children even of the abandoned, the vicious, the worthless—of families where no family altar was ever dreamed of—to the daily recognition of a heavenly Father, and the daily table of that Bread, which he has provided for the soul. How happy is its influence ! At the opening of the school a divine shield thrown around the mind, to forestall the lessons of evil, and the presence of the powers of darkness ; at the close of the day, a voice from heaven, and a sacred seal, to hallow and appropriate the useful knowledge imparted. How blessed an arrangement ! This is acting somewhat in the spirit of the ancient heavenly precept. This is writing the characters of Heaven upon the soul deeper than all succeeding impressions. The powers of evil may take your child's mind, and inscribe upon it the names of demons, and the lessons of black acts ; but by and by, when the Holy Spirit comes, this demoniac painting shall be taken off, and then, clear, deep, lustrous, those blessed early lines of truth, written on the heart, shall be made to burn, and shall become the means of eternal salvation !

THE HISTORICAL PROOF THAT ROMANISM, IN ITS GENUINE DEVELOPMENT, IS ANTI-REPUBLICAN.

VI. Side by side with the hostility of the Romish Church against the Bible must be placed the hostility of that Church as a Despotie Mixture of civil and ecclesiastical power, against the republicanism, the genuine freedom of the Bible. There is nothing but genuine

Christianity that can prepare a people for freedom, or enable them to sustain it. If the knowledge of the Word of God be shut out from the people, if the people are not made Christians, they are condemned to ignorance and timidity, and remain unprepared and unfitted to take any part in their own government; in a word, they remain simply to be governed by despots. Their rights are not regarded, their wishes are not consulted, their welfare is not sought after, they are merely the material of a despotic will, to be used and governed for the purposes of their masters. But where the Bible and its principles come, where its ideas of liberty imbue men's minds, and its ideas of morality prepare them for true liberty, then and there ensues a great change. The great Bible Truth of Justification by Faith carries in it the element and the essence of human freedom. When this truth gained a lodgment and a power in men's minds, then in the Middle Ages, and not till then, freedom, republicanism began to appear. And just so soon as it began to appear, the Despotism of Rome turned against it. Hence Guizot, in tracing the attempts at republican organization against the feudal system during the Middle Ages, has designated the infernal crusades against the Albigenses as the struggle of the Feudalism of the North against the attempt at democratic organization of the South. "Notwithstanding the efforts of southern patriotism," he says, "the North gained the day. This attempt at republican organization was put down, and the crusade reëstablished the feudal system in the south of France." That crusade, then, was the weight and malignity of the Papal Despotism, the power of the Romish Church, against one of the first attempts at republican freedom,

as well as against a reformed religion. In the same manner, wherever those attempts were made, the Romish Church bent herself against them. In tracing the endeavors of that Church to establish herself as a despotic theocracy, Guizot farther declares that "Europe is greatly indebted to the laic members of the feudal system in the eleventh century; the people were almost completely subjugated by the Church; sovereigns could scarcely protect themselves from its domination; the feudal nobility alone would never submit to its yoke, would never give way to the power of the clergy." Again he says, "During many centuries it was the lay aristocracy who maintained the independence of society with regard to the Church; they boldly defended it, when the sovereigns and the people were subdued." Thus it was continually the Romish Church against the liberties of the people.

THE ROMISH CHURCH AGAINST FRENCH FREEDOM.

And here I beg you to look at what Guizot calls the insurrection of the cities in the Middle Ages, their attempts after freedom, and inquire what part the Church acted in this struggle. It was against the freedom of the cities and the citizens. You will accept the testimony of Guizot as the historian of a point in this struggle, which I know not where to find illustrated elsewhere. "Some towns," he says, "the names of which are now almost forgotten, the little community of Vezelai in Nevers, for example, sustained against their lord a long and obstinate struggle. At length victory declared for the Abbot of Vezelai; upon the spot he ordered the demolition of the fortifications of the houses of the citizens; and the

names of many of the heroes, whose fortified houses were then destroyed, are still preserved." Guizot dwells upon the extraordinary mental timidity of the citizens; but he has failed to give its principal cause, their superstitious thralldom to the priests; it was the *habit* of thralldom, in that which constitutes the noblest part of man's nature, the thralldom of his inner, unseen being. If that be in fetters, you may be sure that what is seen of man will be under the fear of man still more. If what God only sees is governed by man, if God's power over the conscience is taken into man's hands, there is no longer any foundation for civil liberty. It was only when this thralldom was broken, that the cities became free, and republican ideas might grow out of them.

In all the history of the Middle Ages you may look in vain to find on the part of the Romish Church any other influence than that opposed to popular freedom. You may indeed find the Pope absolving subjects from their allegiance to kings, but this is only for the conquest of the kings, and not the deliverance of the people. The Church could, when occasion needed, by her tremendous machinery of excommunication, with its combined spiritual and secular terrors, play the people against the king, or the king against the people, but it was never for the good of either, always for the purpose of tyrannizing over both. As to the form of civil government, the clergy were always in favor of the most absolute monarchy; they themselves sought to establish an absolute religious monarchy over all mankind. The French historian to whom I have referred is always desirous to discover whatever element of good there was in the Middle Ages for civilisation to grow upon. He observes that the Romish Church un-

dertook the government of liberty of thought, proscribed individual opinion, made it in itself heresy, and utterly condemned the right of free inquiry. And yet he says that in the discussion of these questions, that is, the questions whether men should be allowed to have any liberty, there was great liberty and reason. That is, there was great liberty among an assembly of [despots, in consulting what they should do with their slaves and victims. The supporters and advocates of tyranny bandy hard words and arguments against one another, and this is an example of great freedom of discussion ! It were just as proper to boast of the spirit of free inquiry among an assembly of inquisitors, who fall into a severe and angry dispute whether a quick or a slow fire shall consume their prisoners. Bishop Hughes may find plenty of such republicanism as this in the Romish Councils of the Middle Ages.

THE ROMISH CHURCH AGAINST SWISS FREEDOM.

In the history of the Swiss confederacy, the most remarkable example of freedom during the Middle Ages, you may find as striking an instance of the part played by the Romish Church against the liberties of the people, as in the history of the rise of the free cities. Over the Canton of Appenzell in Switzerland an Ecclesiastic of the Romish Hierarchy, an Abbot, who possessed the rights of sovereignty, exercised them with such tyranny, that the inhabitants were compelled to a revolt. The despotic power of Austria came in to assist the Abbot against the Appenzellers, but they fought themselves free, and in 1408, about a century after the period, when the Swiss, with William Tell, began their resistance to the Austrian despotism, the

Canton of Appenzell was received as the ninth member of the Swiss confederacy. This forms a striking testimony as to the habit of the Romish Church to favor despotism.

CONFLICTS BETWEEN THE EMPERORS AND POPES.

In the history of the Italian republics you may likewise trace the influence of the Papal Power against human liberty. You will find, in the conflicts between the Ghibellines and the Guelphs, that is, in general, between the Emperors and the Popes, on the one hand the Emperors seeking to conquer Italy and reduce the authority of the Popes; on the other, the Popes seeking to subdue and control the temporal powers, and for this purpose taking part with the cities and republics against the Emperors. In the history of Frederic Barbarossa, Emperor of Germany, and of Frederic the Second, from 1150 to 1250, you will find the Imperial power perpetually in conflict with the Papal power, during the period when that power was making its most extraordinary advances, and threatening to subdue the world; the period when the Inquisition and the Crusade against the Albigenses taught mankind that of the two forms of despotism the Papal and Hierarchical was indescribably more hideous, more disastrous to all liberty, and more to be dreaded, than the Imperial. In the history of the Italian republics the Ghibellines are not always to be found on the side of the Emperors, nor the Guelphs on the side of the Popes. The Republic of Venice, for example, in 1177, took the part of Pope Alexander the Third, against Frederic Barbarossa; but in 1309, Pope Cle-

ment the Fifth, having asserted possession of the city of Ferrara, the Venetian republic opposed him. A Papal bull of excommunication was in consequence issued against the Venetians, the result of which was a dreadful revolution among that superstitious people, in which they themselves were defeated, and the most aristocratic despotism established over them that the world ever saw. So in the history of the Republic of Florence, at one time probably the freest of all the Italian republics, Pope Boniface the Eighth, being appealed to by the Guelph party as their protector, tempted Charles of Valois to come into Italy with an army, intending by his help to overcome the Ghibellines, to conquer the kingdom of Sicily, and to restore peace to the Florentine city. Charles having got possession of Florence, there ensued a scene of fire and pillage, rapacity and torture, for five months, this being the blessedness of the Pope's interference. But about the year 1303, you find the Cardinal de Prato under Pope Benedict the Eleventh, inviting the Ghibellines to attack Florence, although in general they were regarded as the Pope's enemies. The Popes were afraid of having their own power humbled by the Ghibellines, and therefore sided against them with the Guelphs. Pope Urban the Fifth, about the year 1375, excommunicated the Visconti, reigning lords of Milan, who were endeavoring to extend their power. Barnabas Visconti, having received the Pope's bull from the two legates by whom it had been sent, instead of being terrified thereby, is said to have compelled the legates on the spot to eat up the parchment on which the bull was written, together with the leaden seals and silken strings by which it was fastened. The Pope's bulls

were always hard of digestion ; but at this time as to personal despotism, the Visconti, it must be confessed, were in Milan worse tyrants than the Pope in Rome. Afterwards, as we have seen, the Pope in Rome became the perfection of human depravity.

REASONING IN A CIRCLE, ILLUSTRATED.

The declaration that the Papacy was a popular institution, the Pope an expression of the people's will, and the government of the Romish Church a teacher of elementary republicanism, is so astounding, that we hardly know what to make of it, or whence it came. It is no uncommon way of establishing a proposition, when men repeat their own assertions ; and they sometimes do it so often, and the reiteration of opinion comes back from so many quarters, that they are fully persuaded the opinion itself is knowledge and absolute proof. It was partly in this way that the Popes established their dominion. It was much in the same way that the figment of the apostolical succession gained ground. We are told of a horseman who on one occasion lost his way, and made a complete circle ; when the first round was finished, seeing the marks of a horse's hoofs, and never dreaming that they were those of his own beast, he rejoiced and said, This at least shows me that I am in some track ; when the second circuit was finished, the signs of travel were doubled, and he said, Now surely I am in a beaten way ; and with the conclusion of every round the marks increased, till he was certain he must be in some frequented thoroughfare, and approaching a

populous town; but all the while he was riding after his horse's tail, and deceived by the track of his own error. This is oftentimes the way in which men are deceived in regard to antiquity, and the claims set up of exclusive apostolicity; the hierarchical mountains reverberate the echo so loudly, that it seems as if many thousand voices bore witness. But the track of opinion is a circle that reverts upon itself; here are the Apostles' footsteps, say these men, when they are following nothing but their own horses' hoofs. Here is republicanism in the Middle Ages and the Romish Church, says Bishop Hughes, when he is but following the circle of his own footsteps in America. This is one way of reasoning in a circle.

CONTRAST BETWEEN REPUBLICANISM AND ROMANISM.

The only thing that wears even the shadow of a republican aspect in the Romish system, is the fact that the Pope at Rome may come from the lowest of the people. But the Pope governs with a power absolutely despotic, and is not himself in any sense chosen by the people, but by the college of Cardinals, whom he himself appoints. There is not only not the slightest element of republicanism in the Romish system, nor any affinity with it whatever, but the most decided hostility against it, both in form and spirit. The genius of republicanism is open and fearless, the genius of Romanism is artful and secret. The genius of republicanism is voluntary and flexible, the genius of Romanism is compulsory and rigid. The genius of republicanism is freedom of thought, the genius of Romanism is bondage of opinion. The genius of

republicanism is an appeal to the people, the genius of Romanism is an appeal to power. The genius of republicanism is to convince the judgment and persuade the mind, the genius of Romanism is to compel the judgment and overawe the mind. Republicanism says to the people, Think as you please, and speak what you think. Romanism says to the people, Think only as the Church thinks, and speak as the Priests bid you. Republicanism says to the people, Keep your minds open to the light, and your schools bright with historic and divine truth. Romanism says, Admit only Roman light, and keep your children out of the way especially of the Bible and Martin Luther. Republicanism never punishes opinion, Romanism shuts it up in the dungeon and burns it at the stake. Republicanism is a system of argument, Romanism a system of authority; the one is plain and simple, the other gorgeous and pretending. In fine, Republicanism in its perfection is perfect freedom, Romanism in its perfection is perfect despotism. The two systems in their genuine development are as wide asunder as the poles; the one has always promoted human liberty, the other has trodden it down and destroyed it.

THE ROMISH CHURCH AGAINST THE FREEDOM OF GERMANY
AND THE NETHERLANDS.

Let us continue our illustrations a little farther from the Middle Ages. The conflicts of which I have spoken between Emperors and Popes became in those ages, as you will find in Guizot, Ranke, D'Aubigné and others, a conflict also between bishops and magistrates, between the

citizens contending for freedom, and their church lords contending for the consolidation of their tyranny. You have noted the examples of Vezelay in France, and of Appenzell in Switzerland. In Germany the conflict was, if possible, still more strenuous. The citizens of Frankfort, about the year 1329, were excommunicated for resisting, under their Margrave Louis, the encroachment of their church lords upon their liberties. They remained twenty-eight years in this state of excommunication, without masses, baptisms, marriage, or funeral rites; a most wonderful example of what an intrepid union could do against ecclesiastical despotism, in a favorable conjuncture, and in a country out of which the heart of freedom had not been utterly subdued and eaten by the gangrene of superstition. Pursue the history of Germany down into the period of the Reformation, and the conflict between the people for their liberties, and the Pope and the Romish clergy for the right of despotism over them, becomes more marked and universal. You see the peasantry themselves forming leagues against their oppressors, and learning the elements of republicanism out of the conflicts into which they were compelled against despotism. Tracing the Reformation in Switzerland, you find in the history of Zurich and Geneva the same conflict of the Romish Church and the Papal power against liberty. Tracing the history of despotism in the Netherlands, it is the union of Church and State tyranny, the union of the Romish Church with the Spanish monarchy, running a career of oppression and cruelty, such as the annals of the world present no other example of, except it be the exterminating crusade of Rome against the Albigenses. Philip the Second was the kingly incarnation of the ferocity of the Inquisi-

tion, the bigotry of the Church, the despotism of the Pope, and the tyranny of the Absolute Monarch, all in one. In his butchery of the inhabitants of the Low Countries, he and the Duke of Alva, and Pope Pius the Fifth, were of one heart and one mind, three of the sternest, most remorseless bigots the world ever saw, or ever can see. The same Pope, in the same spirit, fighting against the Protestants in France, issued to the leader of his troops the unexampled order, which might have come from an incarnate demon, to "take no Huguenot prisoner, but instantly to kill every heretic that might fall into his hands." It was against such a despotism, that the Netherlands, driven into a revolt, fighting for liberty, and determined to suffer the loss of everything rather than the loss of the Gospel, at length achieved, though against such desperate odds, their national independence.

THE ROMISH CHURCH AGAINST ITALIAN FREEDOM.

The same unceasing opposition to liberty marks the administration of the Romish Church in Italy, perhaps the worst governed country in the whole world. Whenever, in the period we are reviewing, there was any effort on the part of any place of importance, for the defence of its privileges, the Government seized the opportunity of such incidents "for annihilating the privileges of towns, which still possessed important remains of their former freedom, and for reducing them to complete subjection." In the case of Ancona, Pope Clement the Seventh created such an opportunity by his own stratagems, and then utterly abolished and destroyed the freedom of the city. In much the same

way Pope Paul the Third destroyed the ancient liberties of the city of Perugia. He raised the price of salt by one-half, and this act of despotism being resisted by the Perugians on the ground of their ancient privileges, the Pope excommunicated the people, brought an army against them, and in 1540 compelled the city to surrender, stripped it of all its privileges, and made its delegates, with halters round their necks, implore pardon, kneeling at the Pope's toe. And this is the Republicanism of the Romish Church. "The Papal authority," says Ranke, "in the States of the Church was incalculably augmented by these repeated and successful blows; neither the towns nor the barons ventured any longer to offer resistance; one after another the free communities submitted, and the Pope was able to dispose of all the resources of the country, for the attainment of his objects."

Now if, in addition to all this, you desire in one sentence the policy of such republicanism unveiled to you, and the ideas formed in regard to the nature of government, by such an ecclesiastical system, you may have your wish gratified from the administration of Pope Gregory the Thirteenth, so late even in the time of the Reformation, as the year 1575. Government was regarded as the despotic mastery of the people to the ruler's will; the maxim, divide and conquer, was applauded; and all means were considered justifiable, which took all freedom from the people, and left it at the mercy of the ruler's will. In the report of a president of Romagna to Pope Gregory the Thirteenth, I find, says the historian Ranke, these words: "*The business of governing is difficult, where the people hold well together; when divided, they are easily mastered.*" :

I say, for one, Bishop Hughes may carry such republicanism as this back where it came from, to Rome. There let it stay; but we trust in God the time is not far distant, when in poor, oppressed, misgoverned Italy, this wretched despotism shall come to an end, and its place be supplied by a liberty, both civil and religious, like our own.

THE AUSTRIAN GOVERNMENT AS A RESULT OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

So far as modern institutions can be traced to the Middle Ages for their origin, I think we may find a full and fair example of the kind of republicanism which might spring out of the mixture of civil and ecclesiastical power in those ages, in the present despotic government of Austria. I was once travelling through the city of Innsbruck in a time of perfect peace, and, like a simple republican, not having the fear of the Austrian soldiery before my eyes, I set out to cross the public square in a certain direction, when a soldier stopped me, and without saying a single word, pointed to the cannon across the mouth of which I was for taking a short cut of personal freedom. Doubtless they were loaded, and there they stand to guard that public square night and day, though for what purpose I could not conceive, except this, that that square was too tempting and convenient a place for a public assembly of the people. Next to the standing army of the Pope of Rome, I think that those cannon and that soldiery are the best hieroglyphics of the kind of Republicanism which the mixture of civil and ecclesiastical power will teach you, if you go for instruction into the Middle

Ages. The clearest, most decided element that has come down from them is that of absolute monarchy. You might as well go into the dungeons of the Inquisition to find our freedom of religious faith and worship, as into the governments of the Middle Ages, and especially the Papacy, to find the elements of our republicanism.

**THE TRUE ORIGIN OF REPUBLICAN FREEDOM, AND ITS
PROGRESS WESTWARD.**

As to discover the elements of a pure Christianity we have to take a sweep of more than fifteen hundred years, clear across the Middle and Dark Ages, beyond the existence of the Papacy, and beyond the corruptions of the Christian Church, so, to find the elements of a pure republicanism, we have to sweep across all the institutions and governments of the world for as many centuries, and to set ourselves down in the heart of republican Greece. Go with me to the Acropolis at Athens, and there, beneath that sky of such animating purity and beauty, standing at the foot of the Parthenon, venerable and melancholy in its ruins, and watching the golden light of the setting sun, as it steeps the marble in its rosy coloring, and kisses the mountain tops of Hymettus, and mantles the Egean sea, we will remember how the sun of republican liberty, as it sank from the sight of the Grecians, went westward in its course; through storms and darkness it struggled indeed for a season, till it broke upon the Puritans in the British Parliament, and having filled the souls of Pym and Hampden and Algernon Sidney with the never-to-

be-forgotten vision, and having lighted up in them the unextinguishable, undying flame of liberty, passed into a cloudless sky in this Western Continent, the last refuge of freedom for mankind, here to be stayed in its course, till Washington, by its unfaltering light, could fight out the battle with the tyrants of the world ; could finish and perfect for all mankind, and for all ages, the model of a republican liberty ; a model, we have reason to believe, as pure and perfect as our fallen state is capable of, and fitted to receive and sustain the long exiled and forgotten genius of a Primitive Scriptural and not Hierarchical Christianity.

For it is from none other than the deep fountains of civil liberty in Greece that we draw our inspiration ; we stay not in the Middle Ages ; we find not our sources of life in the Roman Empire ; but those antique fountains, covered with sere leaves, and choked in their native region for ages, have run under ground, beneath the rubbish of Roman, of Papal, of Monkish, of Monarchical Despotism, beneath the ruins of Empires, and the rising piles of Cathedrals, yea, beneath an ocean of anarchy and ignorance, to spring up in this continent, the same bright sparkling water, with the atmosphere of Scriptural truth around it, and the sun of God's grace shining upon it, for us to drink of. As the writings of Aristotle were hidden in a cellar, entombed as it were from the world for centuries, to rise again and keep the world for centuries in an intellectual bondage, so the precious remains of Grecian Antiquity in government and civil liberty were also concealed to give the world a second youth of freedom ; concealed from an age in which the desperate corruptions of Christianity would have eaten them up, or rendered them a *caput mortuum*,

to rise again at a more favorable period, and along with the Scriptures, to help forward both the spiritual and intellectual deliverance and regeneration of the world.

DARKNESS OF THE PEOPLE DURING THE ABSENCE OF GREEK
LITERATURE, AND OF GOD'S WORD.

For, mark you, all the while that the Papacy was gaining and consolidating its despotism, the world was enshrouded in darkness, a darkness which the Papal Church maintained for its own benefit, a darkness which concealed alike the elements of Grecian, Roman and Scriptural learning from the world. With the services of God's own worship concealed in a dead language, with the light of the Scriptures locked up under the Latin tongue, and that tongue itself so gone from men's knowledge at one period, that even the clergy scarcely knew or cared anything more of it than the people; so gone indeed, that even in England, after the presence of such minds as those of Bede and Alcuin, our admirable Alfred could not find a single Priest in the most enlightened part of England who could understandingly say his prayers, or could translate Latin into English; and so gone, that, even in Italy, in the tenth century, scarcely a single person was to be found in all Rome, who knew the first elements of letters;—with such deadly, universal, and almost inconceivable ignorance, what could be expected but priestcraft, despotism and death! Conceive, if you can, and contrast with your own state, amidst the light of God's Word, and of innumerable instructive human volumes, and of the daily press with its countless millions of issues, and of your open schools, with the Bible and every science taught

in them, and of your churches with their flood of heavenly light, conceive, if you can, the ignorance of those ages. The people had no books, not even a scrap of parchment with the name of God upon it; they knew not what prayer was; if they muttered it in the church forms, it was like an Arabic exorcism, and if they uttered an aspiration intelligibly, it was to the Virgin or the saints. If they took an oath, it was more solemn to swear upon dead men's bones than on the gospels. Read Thierry's interesting History of the Norman Conquest for a proof and vivid delineation both of the ignorance and oppression of the people, and the undisguised selfishness and tyranny of the priests, the Pope, and the whole compound of civil and ecclesiastical domination. Read Myconius' account as given in D'Aubigné, and compare it, if you will be curious, with the ecclesiastical pictures in Chaucer's Canterbury Tales, the pardoner with his wallet "brimful of pardons come from Rome all hot," with his "gobbet of the sail of Saint Peter's fishing-smack,"

He had a crois of laton full of stones,

And in a glass he had a pigge's bones,

and with these relics he got more money out of the poor in one day than they could get by their wages in two months.

When I was visiting, in the city of Grenada in Spain, the Cathedral in which repose the bodies of Ferdinand and Isabella, the priest offered me, in a jewelled triangular frame, the handkerchief of the Virgin Mary that I might kiss it. I was also shown the identical sheet in which the body of Christ was wrapped when he was taken down from the Sepulchre! They averred that it had never been washed, a thing which was easily cred-

ited. But these were trifles in comparison with the wonders they could show in the Middle Ages. "At the Church of All Saints in Wittenberg was shown a fragment of Noah's Ark; some soot from the furnace of the three Children; a piece of wood from the crib of the infant Jesus." At Schaffhausen they beat this, for they showed the breath of St. Joseph that Nicodemus received on his glove! These things were the libraries of those days; it seems almost incredible to us; but even only half-a century ago they showed to Mr. Beckford in one of the Cathedrals in Portugal, a feather that had dropped from the wing of the Archangel Gabriel in one of his visits to this world! These were the people's books in the Middle Ages.

SCHOOLS IN THE MIDDLE AGES.

The schools, such as they were, in Cathedrals and monasteries, were not for the people, and for the clergy they were schools neither of true science nor religion. What, indeed, must they have been? The *trivium* and *quadrivium* may have been taught, and the forms of the Latin Missal, but of any knowledge that could emancipate the common mind, or give life to the soul, they were unequivocally destitute. I have been in countries, where I have visited schools, in which from morning till night, not one single thing was taught the children, but just to repeat over, like a parrot, in a language which they could not understand, sentences and pages, as meaningless to them, as the talismans inscribed upon the sword of Solomon, or as the *oneryeueryicheryauen* of the shouting school-boys in their play. That the schools of the Church, in those dark ages, were one particle better than this, for the common people, we have

yet to learn. In the eighth century, the best examples of benevolence and learning, and almost the only instances in all Europe, in which it seems to have been exerted for the good of the people, we find in the island of England, in the excellent persons of Aldhelm and Bede. Aldhelm turned his own skill in the use of the harp, and in ballad-making to accompany it, most happily for the good of the people. While he was Abbot of Malmesbury, finding the country people, who came to divine service, in a great hurry to get home without the sermon, he used to go and take his seat, with the harp in his hand, on the bridge over the Avon, and would offer to teach the art of singing. Here a crowd would gather around him, and when he had indulged their taste by some common song, he led them to more serious matters, and at length got them to singing the Psalms of David. This certainly shows a most benevolent and cheerful zeal for the good of the people; and a most rare and happy faculty of turning his peculiar knowledge of the common minstrelsy to their spiritual advantage.

— But this was; so far as we know, a solitary example in the world; and indeed, for a season, what light and knowledge there was seemed to be hidden out of reach of the papacy in the British Isles. And you are to remember that the first benevolent efforts, in the dim foreshadowing of Common Schools in behalf of the people, came not from the Popes nor the despotic Church, but from the Monarch. Both Alfred and Charlemagne endeavored to establish schools, but the impulse was from another source than the corruptions of Christianity. And when, at a late period, and possibly as the result of these schools, there began to get abroad translations

of some portions of the Scriptures, the Church interposed to put her ban upon such translations, and to sacrifice the souls that possessed the living knowledge of them. And here let me add, that Hallam, who among other learned writers has drawn a picture, but not at all exaggerated, of this dreadful darkness, deliberately declares the monstrous falsehood, that "had religion been less pure, it would have been less permanent, and that Christianity has been preserved by means of its corruptions." If you wish for an amusing instance of absurd reasoning worthy of the darkness of the ages he is dwelling on, turn to that page in his ninth chapter, where he says that "Monasteries would probably have contributed very little towards the preservation of learning, if the Scriptures and the liturgy had been translated out of Latin when that language ceased to be intelligible. Every rational principle of religious worship called for such a change; but it would have been made at the expense of posterity. One might presume, if such refined conjectures were consistent with historical caution, that the more learned and sagacious ecclesiastics of those times, deploring the gradual corruption of the Latin tongue, and the danger of its absolute extinction, were induced to maintain it as a sacred language, and the depository, as it were, of that truth and that science, which would be lost in the barbarous dialects of the vulgar." One would almost be tempted to conjecture that Mr. Hallam interposed these sentences as an illustration of the darkness of the ages he is reasoning upon. But he must have forgotten likewise that it was not, after all, through the instrumentality of this Latin tongue, the tongue of the Church, that learning was really revived, but through the instrumentality

of the Greek Literature, restored from the forgetfulness of ages.

THE LATIN DISCIPLINE A MEANS OF DESPOTISM.

I have thought sometimes that God would not suffer that a language which a corrupt Church had chosen as the means of hiding knowledge from the people, should ever become the instrument of their renovation ; and in point of fact He did not ; for it was Greek, and not Latin, that delivered the world from bondage, and broke the night of her ignorance. And if the Papacy and the Romish Church had chosen the Greek original of the Scriptures, instead of the Latin Vulgate, for the language of her worship, I hesitate not to say that the power of the Papacy and the corruptions of the Church never could have risen to the height that they attained, and the world's emancipation would have taken place ages earlier than it did. Against the powerful spirit of thought and freedom in the Greek literature that would thus more or less have been familiar, the Papal Despotism could not have stood ; for when that literature did come in contact with men's minds, it was like an electric shock upon the nations. Aristotle himself had been debased in Latin, and now not only Aristotle in the Greek, but a freer, nobler, happier spirit, even Plato's, walked abroad and held communion with the minds of scholars, and helped to deliver them from Aristotle's despotism.

Let it be remembered that I am not denying nor forgetting, that gigantic minds were reared under the Latin discipline ; but I do deny that any really free minds were so reared. There was the great Thomas Aquinas, whom Sharon Turner has compared among

the schoolmen, to the snowy shoulders of Mont Blanc among the mountains; a most gigantic mind, unquestionably, but bound round by the icebergs of Aristotle and reflecting only his cold light; even as Mont Blanc himself is sheeted and glittering with ice and snow. When the practice of indulgences had been established, and the purchase of the pardon of sins, it was this philosopher whose theology added to its power. The doctrine already invented, was polished and perfected by Thomas Aquinas, "that there is an immense and inexhaustible treasure of works of supererogation performed by the Saints; that the guardian and dispenser of this treasure is the Roman Pontiff; that out of this plenteous stock he can transfer and assign to every man such a portion as his spiritual wants may require, and as shall suffice to secure him from the punishment due to his offences." So you perceive, that if for nothing but this cutting up by the roots and destroying of the great doctrine of Justification by Faith, this gigantic Schoolman was himself a slave to the Pontiff, and helped to enslave others also.

And here without going into Lord Bacon's most admirable and impartial survey of the merits and defects of the Schoolmen, I would refer you to Sharon Turner, in his History of England, for an easy examination of their best side, in extracts somewhat copious from their own pages. I would remind you at the same time that of no small proportion of the questions in Thomas Aquinas' *Summa Theologiæ*, such as the following are specimens:—Whether the fire of the last conflagration will be common terrestrial fire; whether after the resurrection there will be hair on the head and nails on the fingers; whether two or more angels

can occupy the same point in space at the same moment, and whether an angel is conscious of his own existence. The philosophers dwelt among abstractions and despised the people; they followed the dancing marsh-lights of Alchemy and Astrology; and the men who, in the Middle Ages, were themselves madmen in pursuit of the Philosopher's Stone, insane in the subtlety of intellect upon absurd questions, imprisoned the great Roger Bacon for years in a monastery as a magician; Roger Bacon, almost the only man then in the world who calmly pursued the path of true wisdom. There was learning in the midst of this darkness, but no fruit from it for the good of the people; there was subtlety of intellect, but till the revival of Greek literature, and the appearance of Luther, no liberty nor life. The very liberty of scholars among themselves was persecuted. St. Bernard pursued the famous Abelard with the despotism of the Church before two Councils, for twenty years, and at length procured his condemnation. Roger Bacon, as I have said, was confined in prison; and Arnold of Villa Nova, and Peter of Padua, if they had not died most opportunely, would, by the Inquisition, have been put into the flames.

LEARNING OF THE SCHOOLMEN.

Let me give you a description, in the words of Roger Bacon himself, in the thirteenth century, of the learning of his own day. "Never," says he, "was there so great an appearance of wisdom, and so great ardor in study, in so many faculties, and so many countries, as during the last forty years; for doctors are scattered everywhere, in every city, in every castle, in every borough, students, principally under the two orders

(that is, the Dominicans and the Franciscans, who were almost the only people who pursued literature), which was never the case till within about forty years; and yet *never was there so great ignorance, and so great misapprehension*. The mass of students dose and yawn like asses over the bad translations (he means the books of Aristotle, the translations of which he would censure as being ridiculous and exceedingly faulty), and waste altogether the time, labor, and expense they lay out upon them. Appearances are all that engross their attention, and they care not what it is they know, but only to appear very learned before the senseless multitude." "If I had control," said he, "over these books of Aristotle (those Latin translations), I would cause them all to be burned, for it is a loss of time to study in them, and a cause of error, and a furtherance of ignorance, beyond what can well be expressed."

When learning was in such a state, it was in no condition to excite much jealousy on the part of the Romish Church. The theology of the Schoolmen might be correct in speculation, but being a dead theology, separated from life, a matter of curious and subtle speculation merely, it excited no apprehensions. So soon, however, as the spirit of life appeared in it, it roused all the enmity of Rome against it. You may take Wickliffe for an example, who, assuredly, if he had not had within his soul, and so within his speculations, the life of the Scriptures, would have made a great Schoolman, and been probably as great an authority among Romanists as Thomas Aquinas himself. But his very bones were so infected with heresy, that forty years after his death the Council of Constance had to dig them up and burn them. So, in 1498,

the eloquent, ardent, enthusiastic Savonarola, for his fearless preaching against the abuses of the times, was accused to the Pope, summoned to Rome, ordered to leave preaching, confronted by the Inquisitors, put to the rack, strangled, burned. Why Wesselius, who studied the Scriptures in their original languages, and disregarded all human authorities, and of whom Luther said, "If I had previously read Wessel, my enemies might have thought Luther derived all his views from Wessel, so perfectly accordant are the two in spirit," was suffered to die peaceably in 1489, it is difficult to say. Fifty years afterwards the persecution of those who held these sentiments had risen to such a height in Italy, that a writer of the times in that country declares "it is hardly possible for a man to be a Christian, and to die in his bed." A few years later still, a living science as well as a living theology became the object of jealousy and persecution to the Romish Church, and Giordano Bruno, a great philosopher in the sixteenth century, was burnt at Rome. Campanella suffered torture. Even in the seventeenth century Galileo narrowly escaped. The Romish Church made him deny the very laws of nature which he had developed; and you may be sure he rarely took up his telescope, or looked at the stars, but across the fires of the Inquisition. Speaking of the period when Bruno was burnt, the historian Ranke observes, that it was a time when the Italian mind manifested a noble tendency towards deep investigation, and held out promises of great discoveries. "But in the very nature of things the Romish Church could not encourage this freedom of thought; she had marked out a line which men were not to overstep, and wo to him who ventured to pass it."

COMPLETE DISSOLUTENESS OF THE CHURCH.

Nor did ever any amelioration or reformation of these evils come out of the Church herself, nor out of the flourishing period of learning and art in her centre. When the art of painting revived, and flourished with such astonishing splendor, it was no principle or element of Romanism that set it in motion, though it was the policy of Romanism to foster it for the gorgeousness and glory of the Church. In Italy, especially, during the revival of art and classical literature, the Romish Church was thoroughly and entirely a system of earthly policy, luxury, wealth and grandeur. Leo the Tenth was a Sybarite in literary luxury and refined sensuality and debauchery; and such as the head of the Church was, such was his court, such was all Italy. And yet, never was there such a period for the bloom of art in its consummate glory, for sculpture in its severest simplicity and grandeur, for architecture in its most gorgeous forms, for painting in the perfection of its beauty. But in literature there was nothing but imitation, nothing original, because there was nothing Scriptural, nothing Christian. The Classics were imitated, the Bible was rejected, the consequence was intellectual effeminacy and infidelity. "The common people," says Ranke, "sank into an almost Pagan superstition, and looked for salvation to mere ceremonial practices; the opinions of the upper classes were even of an anti-religious tendency. At the very moment that the offering of the Mass was finished, the Priests uttered words of blasphemy, which denied its efficacy. It was the tone of good society in Rome to question the evidences of Christianity." Guizot has

traced an admirable picture of the similarity between this luxury of literature and infidelity, and that which prevailed in France on the eve of the French Revolution. There was Pagan philosophy, Pagan art, and Pagan infidelity ; but religion, through the influence of the Romish Church, had gone out of the Italian world.

ATTEMPT AT REFORMATION UNSUCCESSFUL.

After the death of Leo the Tenth, there was some attempt at Reformation, beginning under Pope Adrian. At one time there seemed to be the promise of a regeneration within the Romish Church itself, for the doctrines of Luther took fast hold of the minds of many, and became the opinions even of some of the Romish Cardinals. But the Council of Trent and the formation of the order of Jesuits soon put a stop to these tendencies towards regeneration. At first the Court of Rome dreaded nothing so much as a Council, because of the enormous abuses and corruptions in the Church. The value of the Pope's simoniacal stock diminished in the market the moment it was mentioned. "I find," says Ranke, "that at the first serious report of a Council, the price of all saleable offices in the Court fell considerably." But the Council of Trent acted at the Pope's pleasure, anathematized the Lutheran doctrines, and defended the hoary abuses of the Church. The order of the Jesuits sprang up, the Inquisition with all its horrors was established in 1542, a purgation of all Italy from the views of Luther commenced by fire, the celebrated and admirable book of an Italian on the "Benefits of the Death of Christ," was burned by thousands and exterminated. It was the reign of persecution and terror, for the Church would

not be reformed. The celebrated Machiavel had expressed himself twenty years before in the following terms: "The greatest prognostic of the approaching ruin of Christianity is to see that the nearer people are to Rome, which is the capital of Christianity, the less devotion they have. The scandalous examples, the crimes of the Court of Rome, have occasioned Italy to lose entirely every principle of piety, and every sentiment of religion."

And now let it be marked, that in the midst of all this corruption, it was a mercy to mankind that in the Papal Church itself there was no successful reformation. A great attempt was made, and in the first half of the fifteenth century was repeated in different Councils; but it was entirely unsuccessful; and it was pleasing to Divine Providence, and good for the world that it was so. For, had it succeeded, it would have been but partial, it would have left the world still in possession of the Papal Church, there would have been no Schism, no Protestant Church, no real reformation, and no liberty for the world; but the spirit of reform being pacified by the appearance of reform, the world would have gone on, how many ages longer we cannot tell; but certainly much longer beneath the awful, overwhelming, despotic unity of the Papal Church; and those pseudo-protestants, who at this day are lamenting with the Romanists over the unhappy Schism of the Lutheran Reformation, would in all likelihood have been saying Mass at Popish altars; or instead of enjoying a republican freedom in America, would have been grinding, with their eyes put out, in the mills or the prison-houses of despotism. The Lutheran Schism, as well as the Lutheran Reformation,

was the greatest blessing conferred in the fifteenth century upon the world. That broke the reign of spiritual despotism, when nothing else could.

In the period of the dog-days of that despotism, in the highest meaning which the terms will bear, says the author of "Ancient Christianity" and "Fanaticism," "the Romish tyranny was universal and absolute. Men could not think or inquire even concerning the processes of the material world, and the laws of matter and motion, without treading upon ground which the Church had pre-occupied; all philosophy was either orthodox or heterodox; and a man might be burned for an opinion in mechanics, as well as for an opinion in theology. There could be no possession or enjoyment of the goods of life, no marrying, no inheriting, no devising, no ruling, no judging, no speaking, no feeling, no thinking, there could be no living and no dying, without the leave of the Church, or apart from her favor."

OPINION OF SCHLEGEL AS TO THE ANTI-REPUBLICANISM OF
POPERY.

I have said that the completest fruit which modern Europe has received from the Middle Ages is absolute monarchy, and have pointed you to the Austrian despotism as its most perfect form. Now as to the monarchical and anti-republican tendencies of Romanism, and I might add, of every form of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, we have the testimony of distinguished Roman Catholic writers in our own day, not to go back to any authorities of past times. You have all heard of the celebrated Frederick Schlegel, who, in 1828, delivered a course of lectures at Vienna, demonstrating

the mutual support which Popery and Monarchy derive from each other. The field was a wide and easy one to work in, and the more despotic the monarchy which he wished to be established, the more powerfully manifest could he make it, that Popery would be its grand support. Give us Church and State, he might say, with a Pope at the head of one, and an Emperor at the head of the other, and we will never fear the encroachments of too much liberty on our despotism. In these lectures the learned author represented Protestantism as the enemy of good government, the ally of republicanism, and the cause of all the disorders and distresses of Europe. Speaking of our own country he says, "The true nursery of all these destructive principles, the revolutionary school for France and the rest of Europe, has been North America. Thence the evil has spread over many other lands, either by natural contagion, or by arbitrary communication." In accordance with the doctrine of these lectures, the Leopold foundation, under the auspices of Prince Metternich, was set on foot to spread Romanism in this country, and thus prevent, modify, and ward off the intense energy of our republicanism, from which a despotic government like that of Austria has so much to fear. Now if you put Schlegel's opinions on the intimate connection between Popery and Monarchy along with Bishop Hughes' opinions as to the origin of republicanism in the Papal governments of the Middle Ages, it will not be difficult to determine which speaks the truth, nor to see the reason why in a country like Austria the genius of the Romish Church is not concealed, but is vaunted as the genius of monarchical power, while in this country the same Church is vaunted as the cradle of genuine republicanism.

THE TRUE REFORMATION.

While the unsuccessful attempt at reformation was making within the Papal Church, there was a reformation preparing and rolling onwards out of the Church, a reformation in souls anathematized by the Church, which God himself, by his own Spirit, would carry on to a great and perfect separation from that Church, in an obedience to his own command, Come out of her, my people! This reformation sprang from the Scriptures and the Spirit of God; the other attempt at reformation sprang from a desire to retain the power and the form of the Romish hierarchy. The true reformation began in the valleys of the Waldenses, and in the soul and the books and the preaching of John Wickliffe, and in the life, the piety, the martyrdom of John Huss and Jerome of Prague. All the power of the Romish hierarchy could not stop it. The Papal power itself, even while, at an earlier period, putting vast engines in motion for its own increase, had unconsciously put the causes in operation for its own downfall. The crusades, which tended in some respects to consolidate and strengthen the Papal despotism, prepared in other respects an era and influences to weaken and overthrow it. There are two facts which Guizot has noticed in the progress of the crusades, of great significance on this point. They advanced, through the influence of foreign travel, the general mind of Europe in its progress towards enlarged and liberal ideas, and though begun under the name and influence of religious belief, they deprived the religious superstition of its exclusive and despotic possession of the human mind. This result was entirely unforeseen, and so was the

second, which Guizot notices, and which was briefly this. Rome itself, the centre of the Church, but hitherto unknown to Europe, save by reverential worship and report, became a halting-place for a good portion of the crusaders, either going or returning. "A multitude of laymen were spectators of its policy and its manners, and were able to discover the share which personal interest had in religious disputes. There is no doubt that this newly acquired knowledge inspired many minds with a boldness hitherto unknown." The veil of superstitious reverence was taken off. What they saw, they *felt*, they thought upon; and though they dared not speak out, yet the sight, the thought, the feeling, worked afterwards as a leaven of contempt, opposition and emancipation. It was long in working, but sure, and mingled with the operation of many other causes.

EFFECT OF LUTHER'S VISIT TO ROME.

Now compare this effect upon the mind of Europe, with that produced two centuries afterwards upon the mind of Luther, by his visit to the Court of Rome. What Luther was in particular, the mind of Europe may be said to have been in general, in its discovery of the rottenness and wickedness of the Romish Hierarchy. This discovery, working first secretly in the general mind, found its vent in Luther; Luther was, if I may so speak, the Volcano, through which the ideas struggling and boiling in all Europe, rolling in repressed subterranean thunders, but as yet confined in depths, pent up in prison, at length poured themselves out, shot up into the air, in a stream of such fiery magnificence, that for a while the world stood still, and gazed

with awe upon the spectacle; the human mind was almost in terror at the sight of the elements of thought and freedom, which had broken from its own depths through the channel of that single mind, which God had chosen. It was the lava of Truth poured out through the mind of Luther as the crater; and if, as the Romanists say, it burned and devastated the world, it was because it was a world of error; and this lava of truth was to form, and did form, a soil of such deep, benignant strength and richness, as to cover the earth with a wilderness of fruits, and a mantle of verdure, such as had not clothed it for fifteen centuries.

DANTE, CHAUCER, AND WICKLIFFE.

The revival of genius in the Middle Ages seems to have borne an exact proportion to the degree of discernment of the abuses in the Church and in the Papal Despotism. Dante, Chaucer, and Wickliffe are remarkable examples. I place these three names together, because, though Wickliffe never, that I am aware of, wrote a line of poetry, they all three possessed kindred qualities of genius, and saw with a clear eye the iniquities of the Romish Church. The intrepidity and power of Wickliffe as a Reformer you know full well. The Poet Dante possessed an intrepidity of spirit not inferior to Wickliffe's; but writing nearly a century earlier, and in a country where the hand of the Papal power could more easily have reached him, had he been as plain and direct as Wickliffe, he would doubtless have been burned. The Poet Chaucer possessed neither the energetic will, nor the natural intrepidity of Dante, nor the moral courage of Wickliffe, and yet his poetry is so full of satire on the vices of the clergy, and

he sided so clearly with the party of Wickliffe, that we almost always think of him in connection with the Reformer. Read in the prologue to the *Canterbury Tales* Chaucer's descriptions of the Abbot, the Monk, the Friar, the Prioress, the Pardoner, the Sompnour and other Ecclesiastics, and all the Church population of the day are crowding around you. There is only one among them, the country parson, that has a spark of religion, and this picture was doubtless drawn from the real life of Chaucer's friend, the Reformer, John Wickliffe.

Dante, writing before either of them, depicted in burning language the corruptions of the Court of Rome, the pride, ambition and luxury of the Romish Clergy. In the nineteenth canto of the *Inferno* he put Pope Nicholas the Third in Hell, with others, his predecessors in the guilt of simony. He made him predict also the coming of Boniface the Eighth, and of Clement the Fifth, into the infernal torments of the damned. "Your avarice," said the poet, speaking to the tortured Pontiff,

"Your avarice

O'ercasts the world with mourning, under foot
Treading the good, and raising bad men up.
Of shepherds like to you, th' Evangelist
Was 'ware, when her, who sits upon the waves,
With kings in fornication he beheld."

In the twenty-seventh canto of the *Paradise*, he makes St. Peter rebuke and satirize his successors, declaring that they had used his keys for the purposes of war, and himself for such a seal,

"Set upon sold and lying privileges,"

as made him turn red for shame and anger.

“In shepherd's clothing, greedy wolves below
Range wide o'er all the pastures!”

In the thirty-second and thirty-third cantos of the Purgatory, he draws a picture of the Church under Boniface the Eighth, as a harlot, and predicts the opposition of the Emperor of Germany to the usurpations of the Pope. Dante himself was of the party of the Ghibellines, and strong in his opinions in behalf of the Emperor's supremacy. Petrarch was another Italian poet of the fourteenth century, whose letters are filled with the most pointed reproaches of the tyranny and luxury of the Romish Church. Dante, Chaucer, and Petrarch were all of them great poets in their native language, in spite of the tendencies of the Romish Church of their day to repress all poetry, and confine all literature as well as religion to an unknown tongue. Wickliffe also wrote in his native language, that he might do what piety in the Romish Church had never done, *reach the heart of the people*. If the dominion of the Romish Church, as in their age, had continued, it may be doubted whether there would now have been a single nation in modern Europe possessed of a vernacular literature. For centuries longer the mind of the people would have been kept shrouded in darkness, and the truths of religion itself would have continued locked up in an unknown tongue. It was doubtless partly because the speculative truths contained in the writings of the Schoolmen were so locked up, that they were permitted to pass without the ordeal of fire, by the Romish See. They gained no access to the common mind, deprived no altars of their superstitious devotees, drew off no worshippers from the Virgin Mary, let in no light that could expose the wickedness

of the Papal pretensions; nay, as we have seen in the case of Thomas Aquinas, they were mingled with superstitious doctrines that went powerfully to the support of those pretensions. So the truth itself could pass unnoticed, so long as there was so much useful poisonous chaff mingled with it.

CONSEQUENCES OF THE DOCTRINE OF A SACRIFICIAL
PRIESTHOOD.

VII. The seventh point in our historical argument developing the origin, progress, and support of the Hierarchical Despotism is the change of the ministry of the Church into a sacrificial Priesthood, and the monstrous abuse and subjection of the human mind to the grossest superstition in the idea that absolution for sin could be purchased from that Priesthood by penance and money. The Romish sacrifice of the Mass is the utter destruction of Christianity. It is the most blasphemous intrusion upon the prerogatives of God, for men to say that they offer-up anew in sacrifice for sin the body and blood of the Lord Jesus Christ. Indeed, the mind shrinks back in every direction, from the blasphemies connected with the doctrine of the Mass sacrifice. Under the Christian system there are no Priests, because, under the Christian system there are no sacrifices; they are for ever done away in the offering up by the Lord Jesus Christ of himself without spot to God; "nor yet that he should offer himself often, but now once in the end of the world hath he appeared to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself." But the Romish system hath its *Priests*, who sacrifice daily for the sins of the people, and who (most dread-

ful blasphemy) pretend to offer up in sacrifice the very body and blood of the Saviour !

This tenet, wherever it is believed, adds immeasurably to the power of the Priesthood, and is a mighty support of the Hierarchical system. Masses are efficacious for souls ; Masses sacrifice men out of purgatory into heaven ; Masses are in the power of the Priests ; Masses can be purchased for money ; Masses put the bodies, souls, and worldly goods of the people in the power and at the disposal of the Romish Priesthood. Tremendous dogma in the era of its power ! Tremendous weapon still, and machinery of despotism, even in countries where Scriptural light and knowledge have shorn it of its omnipotence ! Most dreadful also is this perversion of Christianity, in destroying the true doctrine of the atonement, in preventing the soul from resting intelligently for salvation upon the atoning sacrifice of Christ upon the Cross, yea, in preventing almost the possibility of any true idea of Jesus as a Saviour. To the multitude, the Romish system has no Saviour ; it has a sacrifice of the Mass, and a Virgin Mary, but the Saviour of the Gospel is not there ; the soul does not rest upon him ; how should it, when it cannot see him, for the crowd of mediators and intercessors thronging between the soul and God !

PRIESTLY ABSOLUTION AND THE CONFESSIONAL.

As the doctrine of a Priesthood destroys the Christian ministry, and of a daily sacrifice the Christian atonement, so the doctrine of absolution from sin purchasable by penance and money, destroys the doctrine of Justification by Faith. It puts into the hands of the priests an element of despotic power over the con-

science, which, so long as the ability to forgive sins is supposed to rest with the priests, is absolutely illimitable. Here, in this corruption, you well know, was the point where Luther commenced his mighty and successful war against the Papal despotism. Here, in this corruption is the grand secret of the power of the Romish priests in this country over the votaries of Romanism. Here is one grand reason for their jealousy against the Scriptures, and the secret, also, of their abhorrence of the Lutheran doctrine of Justification by Faith. It cuts up their despotism by the roots, and cuts loose the people completely from despotic power. There is nothing else needed to subdue and annihilate the whole system of Romish abuses, but the full energy of this mighty truth.

The machinery of the confessional comes into view, under this head, as a powerful support of the Romish despotism, but I shall not dwell upon it, nor upon the terrific shamelessness, the corrupting faith, the indescribable *bestiality* of its theology. I will only call your attention to that tremendous image, so hideously appropriate to the subject, which the author of Fanaticism makes use of at the close of one of his chapters. What, he asks, after a while, must the receptacle become, into which the continual droppings of all the iniquities of a parish are falling, and through which the copious abomination filters? "It is hard to suppose that the Romish Church, in constituting her hierarchy, had wittingly kept in view the purpose of rendering her clergy the fit instruments of whatever atrocity her occasions might demand them to perpetrate; and so had brought to bear upon their hearts every possible power of corruption. Not content with cash-

iering them of all sanatory domestic influences, she has, by the practice of confession, made the full stream of human crime and corruption to pass, foul and infectious, through their bosoms! Having to construct at discretion the polity of the nations, the Church architects have so planned it, as that the sacerdotal order should constitute the *cloacæ* of the social edifice; and thus have secured for Rome the honor of being, through these channels, the great stercorary of the world! How fitly, in the language of prophetic vision, is the apostate Church designated, sitting as she does at the centre of the common drainage of Europe, as the Mother of Abominations, and as holding forth in shameless arrogance, the cup of the filthiness of her fornications!"

CONCLUSION.

VIII. There remains now but one point in our historical argument to take up, which is the nature, power, and authority of the Canon Law, as an enshrinement and support of the abuses of the Church and the despotism of the Hierarchy, up to the sixteenth century. The discussion of this topic must necessarily be deferred to another lecture. I shall dispose of it briefly, and then pass to consider the fact that it is the tendency of every form of the Hierarchical System to oppress and persecute, and that the Hierarchical element needs to be cast out of the Church, in order that she may resume her primitive purity and beauty; in a word that *a Church without a Bishop* is the best safeguard against the Hierarchical Despotism, and under God the best security of religious liberty.

Let it be remembered in closing, that I have confined

our argument, broad as it is, to the Papal Despotism as it grew out of the corruptions of Christianity, commencing in an age when the Romish Church was not universal, nor the Romish Bishop invested with the pontifical supremacy. The elements of this despotism, it has been truly remarked, neither Popes, Cardinals nor Councils, can be accused of originating. "The specific guilt of the Papal Tyranny is that of having *converted to the purposes of its spiritual usurpation* those congenial corruptions of faith and practice which it found in readiness, and which it received from a higher age, recommended by the unanimous approval of Saints, Doctors, and illustrious Writers." We doubt not there is to be a period of spiritual reformation, of conversion to Christ, among the numerous and widely extended members of the Romish Communion. In no other way do we expect the change and regeneration of that Church from Antichristian to Christian, and in no other way can it be exorcised of the elements of spiritual despotism. That change and that regeneration will constitute no small part of the glory of that era of Divine Mercy, shortly to be consummated in our world. Our trust is in the Word of God, in the descent and baptism of the Holy Spirit, and in the great declaration of Paul, which ought to be the watch-word for the welfare and prosperity of our Republic, WHERE THE SPIRIT OF THE LORD IS, THERE IS LIBERTY!

Errata to be corrected in the First and Second Lectures.

Page 33, second line, read *possessed* instead of 'proscribed.'
Page 84, instead of 'Guelphs and Ghibellines' read *Ghibellines and Guelphs*.

